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LITERATURE.

THE MARTYRS OF THE CHARTERHOUSE.

The London Charterhouse, its Monks and its Martyrs. With a Short Account of the English Carthusians after the Dissolution. By Dom Lawrence Hendriks, Monk of St. Hugh's Charterhouse, Sussex. (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.)

Historia Aliquot Martyrum Anglorum, maxime Octodecim Cartusianorum sub Rege Henrico Octavo ob Fidei Confessionem et Summi Pontificis Jura vindicanda interemptorum. a V. Patre Domno Mauritio Chauncy, Londiniensis Cartusiae Professo Conscripta; nunc ad exemplar primae editionis Moguntinae anno 1550 excusae a monachis Cartusiae S. Hugonis in Anglia denuo edita. (Burns & Oates.)

STANDING just outside the limits of that which is strictly called the City of London, the old Charter House is even now a comparatively quiet spot. The din of the nineteenth century is hushed as you enter a seclusion full of interesting associations for "Carthusians" of modern times and hallowed by the memories of devout men and martyrs in a remoter past. And yet you are not quite carried back into the middle ages. The old Carthusian monastery is gone; even Sutton's hospital has been removed; the spirit of change and progress is felt to be at work even here. Look backwards and the shade of Colonel Newcome will appear to you before that of Prior Houghton becomes distinctly visible. Yet there is an air of solitude about the place highly favourable to meditation, and some of the walls around you have been raised by monks and martyrs.

Even so the two books named at the head of this article breathe the modern and the ancient spirit. The first is a popular account in English of the story of the London Charterhouse, from its foundation as a monastery by Sir Walter de Manny to the recent removal of the Charter House School to Godalming. The second is a republication of a scarce Latin work, printed abroad in the reign of Queen Elizabeth by one of the last surviving monks of the place, who was anxious to leave behind him a record of the sufferings of his brethren, and of the cause for which they died. It has been carefully edited by Father Doreau, prior of a new Charter House recently founded in Sussex, to which establishment the writer of the first book also belongs; and much of the information given in the latter work is directly derived from it. Indeed, we may say at once that although there is much interesting matter contained in the English treatise relating both to earlier and to later times, and a good deal concerning the history

of the Carthusian Order that is not strictly speaking connected with "the London Charter House," all the other matter in the volume appears almost trivial compared with the deeply pathetic story of those martyrdoms and persecutions which the two books contain in common.

The Carthusian rule was one of the most severe that any of the old monastic orders followed. Not to mention other qualifications, a man required to possess a strong physical constitution to enter it at all. For men so gifted in former days, it was a question whether they would devote their powers to war and tournaments, or to the service of their Maker in the cloister. If a man entered the Carthusian order, he spent his days in solitude and silence, hardly conversing even with his brethren (except in the case of lay brothers working together at manual labour), rising at dead of night for matins and at five in the morning for mass, never leaving his cell under ordinary circumstances but for these two services and afternoon vespers, with once a week a walk in the *spatium* outside the enclosure; devoting his whole life to labour, meditation, and study upon a diet in which fish was the highest luxury, flesh being absolutely prohibited the whole year round. No wonder that in their latter days, when there was a positive premium upon apostasy, there were Carthusians who, like Andrew Boorde, declared themselves unable to abide "the rugurosyte" of that religion!

But it was not so with most. Whatever may be said, either for or against a life of seclusion in the abstract, there is no doubt—for it was proved by events at last—that such a life, with all its self-denials and abstinence, strengthened the moral sinews of men when the day of trial came to look with calmness and fortitude, not merely on the prospect of death, but of death accompanied by every circumstance of revolting cruelty which ingenious malice could devise. For centuries the Carthusians had lived apart from the world, and it may be that the heaven was kept too far from contact with the bread. But tyranny at last did the work which the austerity of monastic rule would never have accomplished by itself; and a handful of devoted sufferers, who had never sought to take part in the affairs of this world, at length broke the power of an odious and demoralising despotism which was all the more difficult to resist because it was able and cunning, and clothed itself, besides, with all the sanctions of religion.

It will be said, no doubt, that the tyranny still continued after the Carthusian martyrs had been put to death. And certainly there did prevail tyranny enough for many a long year after; indeed, that generation did not see the end of it. The three Carthusian priors—that is to say, John Houghton, of the London Charter House, with Augustine Webster and Robert Laurence, the heads of two other houses of the order, and with them Richard Reynolds, a brother of Sion, and John Hale, vicar of Isleworth—were but the first victims of Henry VIII.'s royal supremacy over the Church. Within two months they were followed to the scaffold by Bishop Fisher and three other Carthusian monks. Then immediately afterwards the head of Sir Thomas

More fell upon Tower Hill. All this was between April and the beginning of July 1535. We need go no further with the bloody record. These were they who bore the first brunt of the battle. And if we regard the cause for which they died as the divine right of the successors of St. Peter to rule spiritually over the whole Christian world, it must be said that their blood was shed in vain, for royal supremacy was precisely the one thing that Henry with his despotism clearly succeeded in establishing. It was not undone even in Mary's reign, when Papal authority was once more introduced under royal sanction; and it has not been weakened even to this day. But Henry's reckless and licentious despotism had received a real check, and he had to be more wary in future how he opposed himself in matters affecting Christian faith and morals to the public opinion of Christendom. Royal supremacy might still be upheld; but the unjust cause which had led him to defy the Pope and put to death honest men who believed in his authority, even for declining to answer questions, was now discredited for evermore. The marriage with Anne Boleyn could no longer be maintained. It had become more odious in the eyes of men, since it required such sacrifices to cause it to be respected; and Henry, soon after, took his own way of annulling it and releasing himself from its restraint. Assuredly the victims of royal supremacy were avenged; but the result remained, and even martyrdom could not reverse it.

Yet the patience with which these and other martyrs faced their trials was the means of winning for us that spiritual liberty which we now enjoy, and which royal supremacy, in the end, was obliged fully to concede. No bondage can be devised for minds resolved to die rather than to yield a point of principle. And the Carthusians did not throw away their lives, but considered carefully how much they could yield with a safe conscience before they suffered. The first question proposed to them was whether they would swear to the validity of the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn and the nullity of his marriage with Queen Katharine. In vain did the prior plead that this was a matter which concerned the king, and not himself or his brethren. His opinion was expressly demanded, and he replied to the royal commissioners, in the face of the whole assembled convent, that he did not see how the former marriage, celebrated as it was according to the rites of the Church, and allowed to remain so many years unquestioned, could now be called invalid. To this answer the whole community likewise gave their assent. The result was that Prior Houghton was committed to the Tower, and with him the procurator of the monastery, Humphrey Middlemore. After a month's imprisonment, during which they were visited by some learned men (Dom Lawrence Hendriks says *probos et doctos viros*) anxious to bring them to conformity or arrange some compromise, they came to the conclusion that they might at least agree to recognise the succession as arranged by Act of Parliament, and they swore to accept the king's laws conditionally—that is to say, as far as they were

compatible with the laws of God. On this they were released and the oath was propounded to the convent, who were at first not a little troubled at it. But the prior—according to Chauncy, whose accuracy of memory is borne out in many other things by contemporary records—told them that their hour had not yet come; and that he had dreamed, the very same night he and the proctor had been released from prison, that he should be brought thither again before a year had elapsed and then complete his course. And though he did not give much faith to dreams, he urged the brethren to do like himself and live as long as they could without offending God. By his persuasions accordingly, the whole convent took an oath which was accepted at the time as sufficient, to obey the king as far as it was lawful.

This was in May, 1534; and in February, 1535, Prior Houghton saw too clearly that his dream was about to be realised. Parliament had met in November and passed the Act of Supremacy; and a new oath was to be exacted from everybody, requiring unreserved submission to the king as supreme head of the Church, renouncing all allegiance to foreign authority. Chauncy relates in simple language the terror which this news inspired in the convent, the readiness they all expressed to die together, and the pathetic warning given them by the prior that this was not likely to be demanded, but that he and one or two of the elders would probably be selected first as victims. He ordered, however, three days of preparation for whatever might befall—the first to be devoted to sacramental confession, the second to mutual reconciliation, and the third to a votive mass of the Holy Ghost to strengthen them for whatever sacrifice might be required of them. About this time they were visited successively by two different priors of the same order—Prior Robert Lawrence, of Beauvale, in Nottinghamshire; and Prior Augustine Webster, of the Charter House of Axholme, in Lincolnshire. Little did either of them know what awaited him in London; but when they saw the danger threatening their whole religion, they at once resolved to accompany Prior Houghton to an interview with Thomas Cromwell in the hope of being able to mitigate, if not wholly to ward off, the destined blow. Their pious zeal and sympathy only made them along with him the proto-martyrs of their faith. At the interview they were not allowed to remonstrate or discuss matters, but were simply ordered to prison. In the Tower, they were interrogated whether they would accept the king as head of the Church, and their simple refusal was made the ground of an indictment for high treason under the Act. There was no possibility of escape from the dreadful consequences. The butchery seems to have been made purposely even more hideous than usual to appease the anger of the court; and many of the courtiers—some thought even the king himself—went to witness it in disguise. But the whole of London was stirred with deep displeasure which did not dare to express itself too openly.

The deep interest of the subject of these books has carried us away from the books themselves. But before concluding we must say just a word in commendation of the pious

care shown by Father Doreau to do his author every possible justice. Not only have old misprints and misreadings of English names been corrected (for Chauncy's chief work, it must be remembered, has been hitherto printed abroad) and some brief but useful notes added at the end, but photographic engravings are inserted from pictures of the sufferings of the martyrs, preserved at the Grande Chartreuse and elsewhere, some of which seem to be of nearly contemporary execution. Altogether it is a most beautiful, careful, and sumptuous edition of a work that is scarcely accessible now in any other form.

Dom Lawrence Hendriks, too, has done his part well as author. His volume, which is illustrated by similar engravings, mostly from the same pictures, is divided into three parts; the first giving a brief account of the original institution of the order and of the foundation and early history of the London Charter House; the second, a more minute account of the time of suffering under Henry VIII.; and the third, the history of the building after the dissolution of the priory, the re-establishment of the community for a brief period at Sheen, and their subsequent life abroad in a "Sheen Anglorum," which was set up first at Bruges and was afterwards transferred to other places, as the necessity of the times demanded. Their house was finally suppressed, with a number of other monasteries, by the Emperor Joseph II. in 1783.

JAMES GAIRDNER.

The Ascent of Man. By Mathilde Blind.
(Chatto & Windus.)

THE singularly happy title of this book shows an advantage which the poet sometimes has over the man of science. When the latter traces the evolution of the human species he calls his work "The Descent of Man." The poet, undertaking a similar task, adopts a title which seems the exact antithesis of that. To him—in the present instance to her—the process is an ascent. Of course, whether treated by the poet or by the man of science, the progress of man is necessarily an ascent from lower forms and attainments to higher, but the poet takes account of moral and social and intellectual progress, while it is only the physical man that concerns the biologist. The poet also has much to say about man the animal. It is in natural conditions that the ascent begins; and Miss Blind describes these, and evolves from them the human savage, with much picturesque effect. This is another advantage which the poet has over the man of science. While the latter is busy with details and minutiae, the poet grasps the result, and bodies it forth in bold outlines that make the whole truth clear. Miss Blind does this when in half a dozen lines she traces the advance of animal life up to the ape, and suggests the future man. Thus:

"And in the long portentous strife,
Where types are tried even as by fire,
Where life is whetted upon life
And step by panting step mounts higher,
Apes lifting hairy arms now stand
And free the wonder-working hand."

The advent of man, and his struggles with

an external nature more savage than himself, are described with the same felicity.

"From age to dumb unnumbered age,
By dim gradations long and slow,
He reaches on from stage to stage"—

and at length,

"With cunning hand he shapes the flint,
He carves the horn with strange device,
He splits the rebel rock by dint
Of effort—till one day there flies
A spark of fire from out the stone:
Fire which shall make the world his own."

From this half-physical, half-intellectual achievement Miss Blind traces the "ascent of man" through successive stages, until first love, and then sorrow—which is love under another guise—lead us to the highest conception of human life we can hope to reach. It is a brave, sad, glorious story, told with inimitable skill, and as only a poet who knows man's heart, with its hopes, doubts, fears, aspirations, could possibly tell it. We see the human creature when he is

"The sport of whim and blindfold circumstance"; when

"The irresponsible, capricious gods,
So quick to please or anger,"

narrow his life to a slavish service. Then we realise of his gods and himself this profound truth—so aptly and forcibly stated—

"But ever as Man grows they grow with him."

Loss and gain and suffering mark the progress he makes. There are ebbings and flowings of the wave—

"Kingdoms on kingdoms have their fleeting day,
Dazzle the conquered world, and pass away"—

but man grows and civilisation advances. It is the East that has the morning sun:

"Egypt confronts Sahara—sphinx of nations;
Taught by the floods that make or mar her shore,
She scans the stars and hoards mysterious lore.

Hers are imperial halls
With strangely sculptured walls
And long perspectives of memorial places,
Where the hushed daylight glows
On mute colossal rows
Of clawed wild beasts featured with female faces,
And realmless kings inane, whose stony eyes
Have watched the hour-glass of the centuries."

The old savagery comes out again, directed now to new ends, which have a strange but necessary place in the ascending scale of human experience. War and invasion and conquest succeed this stolid staring of kings inane. There is

"clash of spears and shields,
Widowing the world of men to win the world."

"Triumphant o'er them all,
See crowns and sceptres fall
Before the arms of iron-soldiered legions;
As Capitoline Rome
Across the salt sea foam
Orders her Caesars to remotest regions:
From silver Spain and Albion's clouded seas
To the fair shrines and marble mines of Greece."

Rome the conqueror is conquered in her turn, and a new civilisation is brought in by Christianity. But that, too, has a varied and perplexing course, in which sometimes the upward flame is either beaten down or blazes out with the cruel lust of slaughter:

"... The flame of mystical desires
Turns to fury fiercer than a leopard's,
Holy fagots blaze with kindling fires."

Social and political changes are as cruel as those wrought in the name of religion :

"Bastilles yawn, and chains are rent asunder."

Revolution, Federation, Liberty, are things or names that have their part in the moving scene. But all the while

"The soul of man flies on in deep distress,
As once across the world's harsh wilderness
Latona fled, chased by the Queen of heaven."

This admirable simile is amplified to show how art and poetry came to have divine birth, and to attain to heavenly beauty in man's life. The island birthplace of Apollo and Diana suggests another Delos—another "harbour of refuge on the tumbling seas"—

"Where, severed from the world-clang and the roar,

Still in the flesh he yet may reach that shore
Where want is not, and, like the dew from heaven,
There drops upon the fevered soul
The balm of Thought's divine control.

Forms and hues and sounds that make
Life grow lovelier for their sake."

Sculptor and painter each ennoble humanity—the flame of the soul rises higher and shines more brightly—but it is the poet who quickens it to its fairest intensity :

"The poet in whose shaping brain,
Life is created o'er again
With loftier raptures, loftier pain ;
Whose mighty potencies of verse
Move through the plastic universe,
And fashion to their strenuous will
The world that is creating still."

The story of the ascent of man is rendered complete by two distinct poems of remarkable excellence, called "The Pilgrim Soul" and "The Leading of Sorrow." The first describes a pilgrimage in search of Love, who is found "on the cold ground, abandoned, alone." The pilgrim soul had sought him in temples, in tapestried chambers—had found a mask in his likeness, and lust in his place—but Love all the time was a castaway. The soul is discouraged, but Love cheers it, and cherished by the soul recovers all his old power :

"And lo, as we went through the woe-clouded city,
Where women bring forth and men labour in vain,
Weak Love grew so great in his passion of pity
That all who beheld him were born once again."

"The Leading of Sorrow" is a sad, pitiful review of the lot of men in some of its harder phases. It shows how much there is in life to weep over, to atone for, and to amend. But the lesson of sorrow is the lesson of love—sorrow, indeed, is

"... Love himself, Love re-arisen
With the Eternal shining through his eyes."

The other poems in the volume are as excellent in their kind as those which give a title to it. The only difference between them is that one series is rich with human experience, and with the results of knowledge and of high thinking, while the other is all aglow with the fresh delights of the out-door world. These delights find an almost perfect expression in the following sonnet :

"There was intoxication in the air ;
The wind, keen blowing from across the seas,
O'er leagues of new-ploughed land and
heathery leas,
Smelt of wild gorse whose gold flamed everywhere.

An undertone of song pulsed far and near,
The soaring larks filled heaven with ecstasies,
And, like a living clock among the trees,
The shouting cuckoo struck the time of year.
For now the Sun had found the earth once more,
And woke the Sleeping Beauty with a kiss ;
Who thrilled with light of love in every pore,
Opened her flower-blue eyes, and looked in his.

Then all things felt life fluttering at their core—
The world shook mystical in lambent bliss."

A reviewer who is so fortunate as to light on a book like this lays it down with regret, and fears that he has not said of it all that it deserves should be said. That is my feeling ; and lest I should have omitted any note of praise that ought to be sounded I should like to add, by way of suggestion to all lovers of poetry—and I hope they are still many—that here is truly a book that is worth the loving.

GEORGE COTTERELL.

The Imitation of Christ. By Thomas Kempis. Now for the First Time set forth in Rhythmic Sentences according to the Original Intention of the Author. With Preface by Canon Liddon. (Elliot Stock.)

THIS new edition of *The Imitation* has been expected for some time. It required some one of peculiar ability, over and above that of a faithful translator, to give the rhythm of the original. Those who have examined various editions of *The Imitation* published during the last two or three centuries will have noticed a difference in most of them—some being more of a paraphrase, and others having more or less a literal translation, but still varying the words ; but between these and the present work a greater difference will be observed than ever. Most of our English editions from the seventeenth century have been taken from Sommalius's copy of the Latin text. And Sommalius gives us to understand that he amended in some instances the Latin taken from the MS. (A.D. 1441) written by the hand of Thomas à Kempis. It will be noticed also that Sommalius divided the chapters into paragraphs, which many translators have followed ; and since his time the paragraphs have been further divided into verses, as they now appear in the more modern editions. But in the 1441 MS. neither paragraphs are to be found as Sommalius gives them, nor does it appear that verses were designed as we now have them. And yet, from certain marks and stops—which a casual observer might overlook—there are evident divisions in nearly all the chapters. Thus, in book i., chap. i., while Sommalius has five paragraphs, the author only makes two divisions, clearly according to the two-fold heading of the chapter—viz., "The Imitation of Christ" and "The Contempt of the World." There are, moreover, certain breaks in these divisions, but not answering to the paragraphs that have been adopted, which it is desirable to notice, in order to gain the nicety and force of what is written. Instead of verses, a shorter method is indicated, answering to lines, some very short and some long. And in many instances this is the more clear from the ending words of the lines being made to rhyme. But over and above these points there is a kind of rhythm, which runs

through the whole work, which most of the editions for the last two or three centuries have failed to reproduce, or have not noticed—a rhythm which gives a peculiar piquancy to the words which the mere prose often fails to convey. Some of the earliest copiers of this remarkable work evidently noticed this rhythm, for there are several MSS., both in England and abroad, which speak of the work as "*Musica Ecclesiastica*." Some interested critics have been much puzzled by these two words attached to the beginning of it. It does not appear that the author himself ever gave this title to it. But those who at the first copied the work from the MS. of Thomas à Kempis seem carefully to have noted how the words had a certain cadence in them, and were thereby adapted for church music, and how it was originally designed for religious people that they might chant it over, or repeat it in the way of "speaking to themselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs."

It is now not many years ago since Dr. Carl Hirsche, of Hamburg, made a minute and searching examination of the MS. of the *Imitation* written by the hand of Thomas à Kempis, and discovered several peculiarities which led him, with indefatigable industry and great literary skill, to draw out an exact copy of the whole work as it should be properly read ; and in 1874 he published the result of his labours in a Latin copy, where he shows the lines, breaks, and divisions indicated as they occur in the 1441 MS., and the rhythm which pervades it. None but those who have carefully looked over the 1441 MS. of the *Imitation*—or the photographic copy of it, published by Elliot Stock in 1879, with a short but admirable introduction by Charles Ruelens, keeper of the MSS. in the Royal Library of Brussels, where this MS. is to be found—will thoroughly understand the immense labour and strain of the undertaking, and the special qualifications for the investigation which Dr. Hirsche must have exercised. The cramped handwriting of this MS., the many contractions, the various peculiar marks and stops, the difficulty of making out several of the letters, the evident endeavour to get the work into as short a compass as possible—this is clear from the headings of the chapters being continued on the very line in which the writer finishes the former chapter, or by writing a word or two of the chapter and then on the same line giving the title and number of the chapter—all these things show that the undertaking was one of no light magnitude ; and it is feared that the work must have injured Dr. Hirsche's eyesight, for we regret to hear that the learned scholar is now nearly blind.

Those who were acquainted with his labours in thus bringing out this new copy of the *Imitation*, and the "*Prolegomena*," which he wrote upon it, have long wished to see it reproduced in an English translation as he has indicated ; and it is with no little delight that they welcome the attempt that has been made in the present edition of the *Imitation*. And those who have used the former editions will be pleased with this fresh translation, which presents an old friend to them in a new and more attractive form, more in accordance with the original design of the author, which frequently gives a fresh-

ness, grandeur, and terseness, very acceptable to the reader.

To give an example or two of the manner in which it is written, as well as of the beauty and raciness of the rhythm that appear, we turn to p. 170, where these words occur :

"FATHER of heaven, I bless Thee,
Father of Jesus Christ, my Lord,
That Thou hast deigned to think of me in poverty.

Father of mercies, God of consolation,
Thanks be to Thee,
Who, now and then, with Thy consoling words
Refreshest me, unworthy of all comfort.
I bless Thee always, and I give Thee glory
With Thine own Son, the One-begotten,
And with the Holy Ghost the Comforter,
World without end.

Ah, my Lord God, my holy Lover,
When Thou comest to my heart
All my inward life is glad.
Thou art my glory,
Thou art he that maketh glad my soul,
My help, my haven,
When I am in trouble."

There is a grandeur about this passage, the beauty of which is not so striking in a prose paragraph, or when broken up into verses. Take another passage selected at random (p. 291):

"Think how very frail you are;
You find it over and again in meeting little crosses.
Yet they are for your health,
They and the like."

And again at the bottom of p. 115:

"Away from Thee I cannot be,
Without Thy visiting me I cannot live;
And I must often come to Thee,
And take Thee for the medicine of my health,
That I fail not on my way,
Robbed of my food from heaven."

The page, rather than the book and chapter, is given, because the translator, following the original order, has given the fourth book as it appears in the usual editions in the place of the third.

The above passages will give some idea of the method of rendering the original. But the work is of unequal merit; and there appears too often an unnecessary attempt to render the Latin differently from the other editions, that it may appear more striking, where it is far from being an improvement. Thus on p. 30 we have this rendering, where the idea of *proficere* is not clearly brought out—

"If you would stand as you should stand,
If you would tread where you should tread,
Then must you think yourself a banished man, a Wanderer on the earth"—

which does not come up to that of most of the former versions. And a few lines after, where "the habit and tonsure" (*habitus et tonsura*) are spoken of by others as profiting but little, is here rendered "the gown and haven head."

But a more unsatisfactory rendering is to be found on p. 235, which comes far short of the dignity of the original, or that of other editions:

"O blaze that shines for ever,
High above all the fires of earth,
Lighten in flashes from above,
Finding a way into the secret chambers of my heart.
Make pure,
Make glad,
Make clear, make quick my spirit and its powers
To cleave to Thee in wild excess of joy."

The old rendering is better; for to give but

the first part of it, as a proof of this, we have but to transcribe these words from another edition:

"O Light eternal, transcending all created lights, dart thy bright beams from above, and penetrate the inmost recesses of my heart."

Moreover, the translator does not always strictly follow Hirsche's delineation of the 1441 MS., but tries to improve upon it in some places by turning into lines a continuous sentence. Thus, on p. 26 two instances of this are found; so also on p. 165 at the top, the sentence is broken up into three long lines. There are also three instances of this on p. 169. And in the previous page, the division of the chapter, as in Hirsche, is left out altogether. And why does the translator in the title-page call the author Thomas Kempis, leaving out the *à* before the latter name? It would lead any one to believe that Kempis was his patronymic or family name. This, however, as is well known to those interested in his history, was Haemmerlein, and that of Kempis was taken from the town of which he was a native. It is under this name of Haemmerlein that all the works of Thomas à Kempis in various versions, and those that relate to his writings, are to be found in the British Museum. In the facsimile of his attestation at the end of the volume of MS. 1441, which now lies before me, there is clearly the sign of a contraction of the name, which, as the learned Mgr. Malou has it, stands for Kempensis—i.e., "of Kempen," the name of the town; or, as Hirsche has it on his title-page, "Thomae Kempensis." And what authority has the translator for saying in his preface that Thomas à Kempis lived to be "ninety-seven"? None of his biographers make him to have been more than ninety-one, being born A.D. 1380 or 1379, and dying 1471. And why should he say that "the title"—*The Imitation of Christ*—"is a complete misnomer"? It is indeed, generally, thought that the title was taken from the first part of the first chapter of the first book, where the heading is the same. But are not the whole of the four books more or less permeated with this one great principle or duty? As a confirmation of this, we would refer the reader to pp. 190, 199, 201, 215, 235, 177, 297, 69, 91, 93, 98, 99, and 287 in the present edition; and even when the following of *Christ* is not directly spoken of, still the leading idea is the making of ourselves conformable in all things to the will of God, which was the great and ever present ideal and endeavour of Christ our Lord. "For this is the will of God, even your sanctification."

We do not point out these matters to dishearten the translator, for he has done much, and in the right direction, but that he may make corrections and improvements, and bring the work to greater perfection in another edition, which we hope will soon be called for.

S. KETTLEWELL.

THE "STATESMEN SERIES."—*Life of Henry Grattan*. By Robert Dunlop. (W. H. Allen.)

MR. DUNLOP is a conscientious student, who has devoted much time to the study of Irish history, and is a thorough master of the subject. An honest investigator and an accom-

plished literary man, his impartiality commands respect, and his lucid style at once draws attention. Though a familiar subject, Grattan gains something in freshness and interest at the hands of Mr. Dunlop; and readers of this little book of 232 pages will be gratified to learn how much can be said in a small space on a great theme by a competent authority.

What is especially pleasing in Mr. Dunlop's book is the skill with which he steers clear of the political currents of the day, and the steadiness with which he holds a true historical course. Mr. Dunlop is no blind worshipper of Grattan, or of the Irish parliament of '82. He sees the defects in the man and in the institution, and he points them out with an unsparing hand. He fairly hits the great blot in the constitution of 1782 in saying that Ireland was

"still controlled by English ministers irresponsible for their conduct to the Irish Parliament. On this hidden rock the new Constitution, set afloat with such incredible pains and hailed with such rapturous applause, eventually struck and foundered" (pp. 60, 61).

This point has never been so well put before. In truth there was an Irish parliament, but, practically, an English executive; and the parliament and the executive were almost always more or less in conflict. Grattan made little effort to reform this state of things. No doubt the system of subjecting the executive to parliamentary control was not so well understood in the eighteenth century as it is now; yet it is remarkable that Grattan, who was so jealous of English interference in domestic affairs, while sincerely loyal to the English connexion, did not perceive that the existence of an English executive, which could hold the balance between Irish parties, must tend to fetter the freedom of parliament. Grattan, in fact, was intensely grateful for the "concession" of '82; and he was anxious to show his gratitude by avoiding fresh causes of disturbance. He also believed that parliament would in time right itself and the country. He was, therefore, at first more or less disposed to adopt a policy of *laissez faire*. Not so Flood, who saw more clearly than Grattan the necessity of improving the victory of '82. Flood, however, did not attempt to reform the executive; but he did the next best thing—the only thing, perhaps, that was possible—he tried to reform the parliament.

Upon this question of reform Grattan's conduct was, as Mr. Dunlop says, "deplorable" (p. 70). He did not help Flood. It is to be feared he thwarted him. Mr. Dunlop says: "It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in this instance Grattan's conduct was, perhaps unconsciously to himself, prejudiced by his quarrel with Flood" (p. 70). I am not prepared to adopt this statement, even in the tentative form in which it is made. I believe Grattan was influenced in this matter by three chief considerations—fear of the volunteers, gratitude to Fox and the Whigs, loyalty to the English connexion. Fox, it must be borne in mind, resisted the demand for reform. He wrote:

"The question is not whether this or that measure shall take place, but whether the Constitution of Ireland, which Irish patriots are so proud of having established, shall exist, or whether the government shall be as purely

military as ever it was under the praetorian bands" (Grattan, *Memoirs*, iii., p. 113).

Fox forgot that it was the volunteers who had "established" the constitution, but Flood could not. He believed that the work which the volunteers began, the volunteers only could complete; and he was prepared to overawe the Irish parliament into submission in 1783 by the same means which had been used to overawe the English government into submission in 1782. Grattan recognised the great services of the volunteers, but he shared Fox's fears. And it is right to add that these fears were not unnatural, though, I believe, groundless. The volunteers could have overawed parliament, and probably, as Mr. Lecky points out (*Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*, p. 95), wrested Ireland from England's grasp. If the proposal for reform had come from within parliament, Grattan might have taken a different stand. But it came from without. It came from a military body whose power in the country was, in truth, supreme. Grattan had commenced to fear this body, and was not prepared to take measures from its hands. That his fears were groundless, and his action was wrong, there can be no doubt. The life of the Irish parliament depended on reform; reform depended on the volunteers; and there is no just reason for thinking that the volunteers were less loyal to the English connexion than Grattan himself. Had Grattan co-operated with Flood, reform would have been carried. The executive would in time have been brought under parliamentary control, concessions to the Catholics would have been hastened, and the constitution would have been preserved without the English connexion being endangered. As it was, Grattan's fatal policy led to the rejection of Flood's proposal, and to the disbandment of the volunteers—the two first steps in the downward move which ended in the destruction of Irish legislative independence.

Mr. Dunlop's account of the conflict over Pitt's commercial propositions in 1785 is full and clear; and his comments are judicious and just. Fox's conduct in this instance cannot be too strongly condemned. It was factious and unpatriotic. Pitt's plan, as first proposed, was "open, fair, and just," and Grattan accepted it; but "Fox and the Whig party, backed by the noisy and selfish protests of the manufacturers of Lancashire and Yorkshire, ultimately obliged Pitt to withdraw the measure for amendment" (p. 81). In its original form the plan consisted of eleven propositions dealing with the commercial relations of the two kingdoms without trenching on the Irish constitution. In its amended form it consisted of twenty propositions, some of which did trench on the Irish constitution. In this latter form Grattan opposed the plan, and the Irish Parliament supported him. Mr. Dunlop seems doubtful whether Grattan ought not to have accepted even the amended plan, open as it was to objection on constitutional grounds; but I think Grattan was right. He could not have guarded the constitution too jealously. Mr. Dunlop, however, places the responsibility for the rejection of the commercial proposals on the right shoulders.

"Whatever blame," he says, "attaches to their rejection lies at the door of the English oppo-

sition. It was not the first nor the last time Irish interests have been sacrificed to suit party purposes" (p. 85).

Fox had strong sympathies with Ireland; but he proved a mischievous friend on two critical occasions—in 1783 and 1785. Grattan committed a grave mistake in identifying himself with any English party to the exclusion of another. Pitt had not the warm sympathies of Fox; but there is every reason for believing that in 1784-5 he was sincerely desirous to establish commercial relations between England and Ireland which would be advantageous to both countries, and which would not curtail the liberties of the Irish parliament. He then desired a union of interests, not a union of legislatures. Writing to the Duke of Rutland, he said:

"Such an arrangement [as the commercial proposals] is defensible only on the idea of relinquishing local prejudices and partial advantages in order to consult uniformly, and without distinction, the general benefit of the empire. This cannot be done but by making Ireland and England one country in effect, though for local concerns under distinct legislatures" (*Rutland Correspondence*).

The rejection of the commercial proposals made Pitt the enemy of the Irish parliament. It was the third step in the direction of legislative union.

Like most other writers, Mr. Dunlop does not sufficiently emphasise the part taken by Wolfe Tone in the concession of the franchise to the Catholics in 1793. Sometimes the Irish parliament gets all the credit for this boon, sometimes the English cabinet. The truth is, the cabinet forced the parliament to grant the measure. But who forced the cabinet? In my judgment, Wolfe Tone. But for the union between the Catholics and the Ulster Presbyterians, between the constitutional party and the revolutionary party, the measure would not have been carried. This union, in fact, overawed the cabinet; and this union would not have been possible but for Wolfe Tone.

"The country is in a terrible state," wrote the lord-lieutenant, "the democratic [Catholic] leaders have coalesced with the United Irishmen and every turbulent spirit in the country. The Catholic committee already exercise the functions of government, levy contributions, issue orders for the preservation of the peace—a circumstance more dangerous, perhaps, than if they could direct the breach of it. Their mandates are taken by the lower class of people as laws."

It was this "terrible" state of things that brought about the concession of 1793, and for it Wolfe Tone and his Ulster republican colleagues were chiefly responsible.

Another man whose services at this crisis are generally forgotten is Myles Keon. It was he—at least Tone gives him all the credit for it—who formed a plan for organising the Catholics throughout the country; who, in fact, almost anticipated the Catholic Association of O'Connell. And it is curious to note how Canning, in 1825, described the operations of the Association much as the Lord Lieutenant described the operations of the Catholic committee in the language above quoted. Tone, John Keogh, and Myles Keon taught the Catholics to help themselves. Hitherto the practice of their friends had

mainly been to do justice for them rather than by them.

The Fitzwilliam administration, the rebellion of 1798, and the Union, are familiar topics. They are touched with the hand of a master in this little book. Mr. Dunlop thinks that Lord Fitzwilliam was an injudicious agent employed to carry out a great policy. There can be no doubt of it. It was natural enough to try and get rid of the Beresford faction. But Lord Fitzwilliam did not count the strength of that faction, and he proceeded with fatal rashness to accomplish an object good in itself. No faults of Fitzwilliam, however, can diminish the blame which rests on Pitt. He acted basely towards the Catholics in 1795, as he did again in 1800. He prevented Catholic emancipation, and made the rebellion of '98 inevitable. It is idle to pretend that the Irish parliament would have refused emancipation in 1795, if Pitt had remained faithful to his original intention. At Pitt's bidding the Irish parliament granted the Franchise Act of 1793. At that time there was a party in parliament in favour of emancipation; by 1795 it had grown stronger. Thus, in the former year, a proposal to admit Catholics to parliament was rejected by 163 to 69 votes. But, after the departure of Fitzwilliam, and in the teeth of Pitt's opposition, and when there was no pressure from outside, as there had been in 1793, a similar motion was rejected by 155 to 84 votes. Thus the majority of 94 against the Catholics in 1793 had been reduced to a majority of 71 in 1795. Mr. Dunlop's comments on the division of 1795 are perfectly just. He says:

"Considering it was made a Government question, the division was very favourable to the Bill, many of the usual supporters of the Government voting for it; and there can be no doubt that had Fitzwilliam and his friends remained in office, it would have passed with the greatest ease. As it was, its rejection at this time was attended with the most disastrous consequences. It... exasperated the Catholics, and added to the strength of the Republicans" (p. 154).

Mr. Dunlop treats the subject of the Union with commendable brevity. He does not waste time by dwelling on the means used to bring it about. Sir George Cornwall Lewis, in reviewing the *Life and Correspondence of Lord Cornwallis*, has described those means in two sentences. He says:

"There is no doubt that a majority in the Irish Parliament was obtained for union by purchase; by places, pensions, peerages, and compensation for suppressed seats; the transaction was a bargain, but it was a bargain in market overt. The means employed were not unobjectionable; but they were less objectionable than force, which was the only practicable alternative; and such as they were, they all lie within the cognizance of history" (*Administrations, &c.*, p. 197).

About a million and a quarter was given as compensation "for suppressed seats." The question is sometimes asked, Was compensation given for suppressed boroughs in England in 1832? Mr. Lecky says:

"The precedent of 1800 was afterwards remembered when the English nomination boroughs were abolished in 1832; but all parties indignantly repudiated the notion of

recognising such a principle in England" (*Leaders, &c.*, p. 179).

The story of Grattan's gallant but fruitless struggle for the Catholics in the imperial parliament is admirably told, and the closing scenes of his noble career are described with much feeling. Most Irishmen will agree with Mr. Dunlop that the life of the great patriot "is at once a lesson and an inspiration for the future."

R. BARRY O'BRIEN.

NEW NOVELS.

Guilderoy. By Ouida. In 3 vols. (Chatto & Windus.)

Diana Wentworth. By Caroline Fothergill. In 3 vols. (Blackwood.)

Mr. Stranger's Sealed Packet. By Hugh MacColl. (Chatto & Windus.)

Far Away and Long Ago. By Frances Anne Kemble. (Bentley.)

Iris Dacre. By Alice Mangold Diehl. In 2 vols. (Hurst & Blackett.)

Whims. By Wanderer. (Gilbert & Rivington.)

Audrey Ferris. By Frances A. Gerard. (Ward & Downey.)

OUIDA'S new book is apparently intended to be a novel with a purpose, that purpose being to advocate much greater dissolubility of marriage, on the ground that when either party or both become tired of the contract, there is no reason for holding them to it. The opinions aired in the book are not so much immoral as non-moral. They are redolent of the Restoration drama; and the oddest thing about them is that one particular maxim—that husbands are in no respect bound to be so faithful to their wives as their wives are to them—is not upheld by the profligate characters of the story alone, but by personages whom Ouida evidently intends to be taken as rather austere moralists. Of course we are in the very best society all through, and the gingerbread is treble gilt. The main theme of the plot is that Lord Guilderoy—a great noble of vast wealth, who is a fickle voluptuary with one grand passion in his past experience—suddenly finds himself attracted by a beautiful girl of seventeen poor, but well-born and refined. He marries her precipitately, and tires of her speedily afterwards, largely because she, though deeply in love with her husband, is naturally reserved and reticent, and therefore is not erotic in her relations with him. He encounters his former enslaver afresh, and renews the old relations; and in this part of the story comes in the curious distortion of ethical perception which is the chief literary defect of the book. For Lord Guilderoy pledges himself to the Duchess Soria to break with his wife, and keep himself for her, the Duchess, only; and in all the complications which ensue, he regards himself as bound by his "honour" to keep this pledge, whatever consequences it may involve to his wife. Now, the noteworthy point here is that it never seems to have struck Ouida that the marriage-vow, considered simply in the light of a contract, and without raising the religious issue at all, is a formal pledging of the word and honour

of the contracting parties, so that it is not open, as a piece of bare honesty, to make any subsequent pledge or promise incompatible therewith. The case, as actually put, is much as if a man, having assigned the whole of his property to a creditor for value received, were then to pay some later and discreditable gambling debts out of this same fund, without the consent of the person chiefly concerned. And thus her hero, despite the halo she would fain diffuse around him, is a mere vicious cad after all, with no true sense of honour. There is one charming lapse into simplicity early in the first volume. John Vernon, father of Lady Guilderoy, is very poor, and leads a hermit life. Lord Guilderoy becomes his guest, and

"he did the honours of his homely table with perfect grace and simplicity. . . . The repast was very simple—a plain soup, fish fresh from the sea, prawns stewed in sherry, and the capon Vernon had spoken of; but he had seldom enjoyed any banquet better."

The ascetic character of the *menu* is undeniable, and Lord Guilderoy's condescension in putting up with it contentedly cannot be too much admired. We have the customary classicisms dragged in head and shoulders, with Ovid, Catullus, Tibullus and Co. to illustrate them; and Ouida's diction is not even yet "clean of gallicisms and despoiled phrases." But, with all the grave faults of the book, it has not the crowning one of being dull.

Diana Wentworth is a variant on the familiar theme of the plebeian wooer who persuades a patrician lady to abandon the prejudices of caste and the ties of kindred for his sake, and think herself fortunate in the bargain. The story is pleasantly told, and has a moral of its own—that it is neither courteous nor expedient to burn one's correspondents' letters without opening them first. This, it seems, was a custom of Miss Wentworth's; and on one occasion it was nearly causing her death, and on another nearly wrecking her love-affair. So, all and sundry, be warned in good time.

Mr. Stranger's Sealed Packet belongs to the class of "Voyages Imaginaires," the planet Mars being the goal of the journey, and the vehicle an electro-magnetic flying-machine. Most of the incidents have been used before by the various writers who have essayed this kind of composition—the flying chest, for instance, is in the story of Malek and Schirine in the *Persian Tales*. But there is no ground for supposing Mr. MacColl to have annexed them; rather they are such as would be apt to suggest themselves independently to persons exercising their invention in this direction. The scientific portions are very carefully and plausibly worked out, and the slight story is effective.

Far Away and Long Ago is a story of New England life, either past the middle of the last century or in the first quarter of this one. The doubt arises from the introduction of Jonathan Edwards as one of the characters, and he died in 1758, while other references in the story seem to require a date of 1825 or thereabouts. The scene is laid in the village of Greenfield, near the county town of Gordonton—names which stand for Lenox and Pittsfield, where the author spent many years

of her earlier life. The book is an attestation of unusually prolonged literary activity. Authors who begin at seventeen are rare; authors who publish at eighty are scarcely more common; but both unite in the present case, for her *Francis I.* was written when she was at the earlier age, and now this latest of her publications appears near the close of her eightieth year. It is a picture of New England religious life, as manifested in the congregation which Jonathan Edwards taught, and as affecting others outside that pale; and it is probably a faithful transcript of the memories she retains of that old sojourn.

Iris Dacre depends for its interest upon the plot, as there is little attempt at depicting character or inventing dramatic dialogue; but Mrs. Diehl has shown much ingenuity in the complication on which the story turns, and which only a very wary and experienced reader will detect. There is a slight mistake in one place. The heir presumptive to a peerage cannot assume the family honours so long as it is possible that an heir may be borne by the widow of the last peer, and just such a contingency occurs in the present story.

Whims is a collection of short stories, displaying some imaginative faculty and gift for devising effective incidents to constitute plots. Of course, it is not a very high kind of literary power, being analogous to inventing conundrums; but when of good quality, and well exercised, it is capable of giving a good deal of amusement, and that is the case with *Whims*. The style, however, needs amendment, specially in respect of the intolerable solecism "different to," which repeatedly occurs.

Audrey Ferris is the work of an inexperienced writer, who has not yet learnt how to make the best of herself and her materials. But there is evidence of capacity for doing much better; while, even as the book stands, it has genuine merit, and strongly reminds the present reviewer, despite entire dissimilarity in plot, of a once famous book, Mrs. Inchbald's *Simple Story*. Those who know that tale will recognise the high praise which such a comparison implies.

RICHARD F. LITTLEDALE.

SOME BOOKS FOR THE COUNTRY.

The Practice of Forestry. By C. Y. Michie. (Blackwood.) Long experience, from which, in all cases, the author draws in order to lay down the principles of his art, is the distinguishing characteristic of this book. Hence it possesses a peculiar value for all who delight in the most charming of country pursuits—planting. Mr. Michie divides his subject into planting, thinning, and pruning. His precepts on each of these points are copiously illustrated in about a dozen chapters for each division, and are both practical and interesting. He rightly points out the difference of treatment required by conifers and deciduous trees; and he shows that in all cases it is absolutely necessary, before planting or pruning, to consider the end of the plantation, whether it is to serve for ornament, shelter, or profit. The calculations of expense are full and lucid, showing that many a neglected hillside and strip of useless land might be planted by landlords with a tolerably certain expectation of

profit in the owner's lifetime. Estimates of cost for labour, fencing, purchase of trees, and the like, are appended. It is superfluous to commend such a book, the work of a long-practised forester. Mr. Michie amusingly notices how many celebrated planters owned the name John, as, for instance, Sir J. Sinclair, J. Matheson, J. Evelyn, and many others. Unfortunately, the author of *Waverley*, a distinguished planter, was not called John.

Industrial Rivers of the United Kingdom. (Fisher Unwin.) The editor of *The Shipping World* has wisely reprinted these eighteen chapters on the trade and commerce of past and present days in the chief industrial rivers of the United Kingdom. They are written by different authors, each of them an accepted authority in the district of which he treats; and they form a valuable handbook to the shipping trade, the exports and imports of the great ports. Great Grimsby is almost the only large port which has been forgotten, and this may be because it stands on no large river; but the speedy rise of the place from a small town of a few hundred inhabitants to a population of some 50,000 since the beginning of the century, and the growth of a great continental trade, to say nothing of its being the metropolis of the North Sea fishing industries, certainly merited notice. Leith, too, and Dundee deserved a chapter. What is given, however, could hardly be better done. After a cursory reference to the upper course of the rivers, they are more minutely described from the point where commerce seizes upon them, dredges and widens and plants docks and quays by their side. Tables of exports and imports are added, and a large quantity of information on the different Harbour Trusts and the like appended. In short, this book succeeds in giving many useful facts in small compass which would otherwise have to be sought in many different quarters; and this is no small merit in the eyes of business men. The Tyne is perhaps better described than any of the rivers. Swansea Corporation appears to hold more land than any other corporation in the kingdom. The trade of Bristol and the fame of Bideford as a port have retrograded during this century. Iron and coal everywhere foster docks and trade. Cardiff exports more coal than any other English port. The rise of Middlesborough is graphically painted; but why the Tees should be poetically called "the stream Scamander where Vulcan lives" passes our understanding. Full justice is done to the manner in which the "canny" Glasgow bodies seized their opportunity, and by persistently dredging the Clyde, laid the foundation of their mercantile prosperity. From this river started the first steamship; and now yard after yard for a space of six miles from Glasgow turns out new steamers and sailing vessels, and more yards extending to Greenock follow suit, until, in 1883, 413 vessels of an aggregate tonnage of 415,694 tons were launched. Striking pictures of commercial prosperity and enterprise are everywhere visible in these pages.

Sylvan Folk: Sketches of Bird and Animal Life in Britain. By John Watson. (Fisher Unwin.) This book is distinguished from the crowd of similar essays on our familiar birds and beasts by careful observation. Mr. Watson not only writes well, but is a true student of nature. On several topics, indeed, such as migratory birds, deer, game birds, and others, he tells nothing new, though his pages are full of agreeable writing. On the other hand, the chapters on seals, and especially on the birds of the lake mountains, are well worth reading. In the latter is a full account of the breeding of the dotterel. Every here and there a naturalist would differ from his views. Thus, at p. 11, he says that first the martin, then the bank

swallow, finally the chimney swallow, come to our shores. The bank martin is almost always the first to arrive; and, oddly enough, at p. 21, he himself allows this. The fly-catcher is almost always a later arrival than in the second week of May. Swallows and martins, he states, have been found in every month of the year. We never heard of either having been seen in February. The account of pheasants being captured by poachers lighting sulphur under their roosting-trees appears very mythical. The stories also of large birds migrating with smaller ones on their backs are worthy of Pliny's credulity. Again, he speaks of the American passenger pigeon and the purple martin crossing the Atlantic as if it were an ordinary occurrence—"Suffice it, they come." Only one occurrence of the purple martin has been noticed in our isles; and of the four passenger pigeons said to have been obtained in them, two at least are regarded by Yarrell as undoubtedly escapes from captivity. William the Conqueror did not love "the deer as if brothers." The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says, "He loved the tall stags as if he were their father." The youthful observer of nature will learn much from this little book. Its composition has evidently been a labour of love.

Haunts of Nature. By H. W. S. Worsley-Benison. (Elliot Stock.) Readers of the author's former book will gladly welcome some more of his reverent and careful studies in nature. Plant and animal, insect or flower, are alike seen to be full of mystery and wise adaptations to their environment, under Mr. Worsley-Benison's happy treatment of them. At one moment he teaches the cycle of the life of an aphid, at another discourses on the sundew's carnivorous habits, and then again on the useful qualities of the mole. Nothing, however, will ever prevent farmers killing these creatures, any more than it will persuade a keeper not to kill indiscriminately every large bird. There is a capital chapter here on rational enjoyment of the seaside. Arums and hybernation, gnats, wild roses, and many other common objects of the country are here carefully explained, and attention drawn to curious facts in their economy. The author wonders why the mistletoe is so seldom seen in old sculpture. He need not do so if he remembers its amatory and heathen associations. This is just the book for the father of intelligent children to procure for them whether they spend their holidays in the country or at the seaside. Indeed, if he begins the book himself, he will find that he can read it not only with profit but with pleasure.

The Eyes of the Thames. By A. T. Pask. (Ward & Downey.) Under this affected title Mr. Pask has brought together twenty-eight pleasant essays dealing mainly with the waifs and strays of London life, especially of riverside life. "The Eyes of the Thames" appear to mean the coastguard men and the Nore Light on the Thames pilots; but there are chapters on "A Sunday in Surrey," Portsmouth "Hard," and a "London Orchard," so that the name is not very distinctive. A good deal of skilful word-painting, of quick and genial transition from man to nature or the contrary, distinguishes this book. Mr. Pask has visited many out-of-the-way places, and conversed with many odd characters; and having used his eyes and ears to some purpose he possesses the happy knack of vividly bringing before his readers these curious experiences. His musings at Hampton Court are very enjoyable, while the account of the Waiters' Club and of the children rehearsing for ballet and pantomime will interest many readers. He writes with much care and in picturesque English; but his periods are at times jerky, at times the sense of repose is killed by the superabundance of

the colour. And every here and there are irritating misprints, such as in describing the fortifications of Dunkirk "Vantans" is meant to read "Vaubans"; and, of course, *chaperones* ought to be *chaperons*. There is a poverty of resource, too, in alluding to "the hapless, sinful Vanderdecken" three times in the first seven short essays. A villager outside the vicinity of London might well object to Mr. Pask's ascribing the Sunday drinking and lounging of the suburban village in Surrey "only too truly to thousands of other villages throughout the country." In spite of these blemishes, *The Eyes of the Thames* is a healthy and amusing volume—one that would be popular in a country book club. Mr. Pask is certainly not the weakest of the descriptive writers of the day.

NOTES AND NEWS.

MESSRS. MACMILLAN & Co. will publish very shortly a *Life of Father Damien*, by his friend, Mr. Edward Clifford.

MESSRS. LONGMANS will publish on June 24 Mr. Rider Haggard's story of "*Cleopatra*," which has been appearing as a serial in the *Illustrated London News*. It will be in a single volume, at a cheap price, though it will contain twenty-nine full page illustrations by M. Grieffenhagen and R. Caton Woodville.

THE same publishers also have in the press a new novel, entitled *Such is Life*, by May Kendal, who still prefers to be known as joint author of "*That Very Mab*."

A NEW and cheaper edition of Mr. Warde Fowler's charming volume of *Tales of the Birds* will be published by Messrs. Macmillan in about ten days. It will be followed by a uniform edition of the same author's *A Year with the Birds*, with illustrations by Mr. Bryan Hook.

MESSRS. CHAPMAN & Hall will publish in the course of the present month *The Life and Letters of Charlotte Elizabeth, Princess Palatine and mother of Philippe d'Orléans, Regent of France, 1652-1722*, gathered from various published and unpublished sources.

MESSRS. TRUBNER & Co. have in preparation a *Popular Handbook of County Dialects*, compiled by the Rev. J. L. Saywell, whose name (we are assured) is not a pseudonym. Its object is to give an example in poetry and prose of the dialect of each English county (Scotland not being included), and, where practicable, any distinctly local specimens of folk-speech, such as are found in all the ridings of Yorkshire. Each example will be preceded by a short note showing how the dialect has been built up, and the various influences that have assisted in the creation, immigration, corruption, and inflexion of dialectal words. Local words and phrases will be printed in heavier type, and their meaning will be explained in a foot-note glossary.

THE next volume in the series entitled "*The Story of the Nations*" will be *The Hansa Towns*, by Miss Helen Zimmern.

MR. FRANK MURRAY, of Derby—who is devoting himself to the publication of those limited editions which bibliophiles love—proposes to bring out a reprint of the English translation of Manuel's *Captain Castagnette*, made by Mr. Austin Dobson in 1866, with Gustave Doré's designs. The book will be issued in royal quarto, with the illustrations on India paper, and in a special binding. Only two hundred copies are to be printed, each numbered and signed.

THE same publisher also announces a series, to be called "*The Moray Library*," of which Mr. Thomas Hutchinson's recent *Ballades of a*

Country Bookworm forms the first volume. Among forthcoming ones will be two by Mr J. Rogers Rees, entitled *With Friend and Book* and *In the Study and the Fields*. The peculiarity of this series is that, while the entire edition will be strictly limited, one copy of each is printed on vellum.

THE first volume of the new edition of *Baynes's Trade Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century*, edited by Mr. G. C. Williamson, is announced by Mr. Elliot Stock for immediate publication.

MR. BEETON has in the press a new novel by Nomad, entitled *The Milroys*, exemplifying the theory of "self help" for women. It is dedicated to Mr. Walter Besant.

FOR the meeting of the Aristotelian Society on Monday next a symposium on the subject "The Nature of Force" is announced, to which Dr. Johnstone Stoney, Dr. A. Bain, and Prof. Dunstan, are to contribute papers.

THE library of John Eglington Bailey, F.S.A., whose death was recorded in the ACADEMY of September 8, 1888, is to be sold at Manchester, by Messrs. Capes, Dunn, and Pilcher, on Monday, June 24, and the five following days. The total number of lots is 2662; and the catalogue—as is not always the case with London sales—is classified in such a way as to assist the intending purchaser, as well as to throw light upon the bibliographical tastes of the late owner. Hardly any department of literature is unrepresented; but the collection is particularly rich (1) in local histories and publications of societies, and (2) in seventeenth-century books. The Fuller series alone fills four pages; and many of the lots are extremely rare, while others are enriched with MS. notes. Among the MSS. we notice a transcript on vellum of the Council Register of Queen Mary's reign (1553-1557), formerly in the possession of Speaker Onslow; what is apparently the original Proceedings in the House of Commons from 1656 to 1679; and a number of the Townley MSS. relating to pedigrees in Lancashire and Cheshire.

THE Baconian craze is contagious. There has lately been published at Amiens a pamphlet of some 120 pages, entitled *Les Emprunts d'Homère au Livre de Judith*, par l'Abbé Fourrière. According to a notice in the *Revue Critique*, its aim is to prove that the authors who wrote under the name of Homer were of Jewish origin. Here are some of the proofs. There were Jews in the Troad, particularly in the neighbourhood of Mount Ida, as is shown by their name—"Idæi, Iudæi." When Homer says that a thing had two names, in the language of gods and in the language of men, by the former he meant Hebrew, and by the latter Greek. If the Aeolic dialect be compared with Hebrew striking resemblances appear, notably the similarity of the digamma and Vau. From the point of view of religion, the *Iliad* should be considered as, at bottom, the representation of a great war against the monotheism of the Bible.

UNIVERSITY JOTTINGS.

To the names mentioned in last week's ACADEMY upon whom the university of Oxford proposes to confer the honorary degree of D.C.L. at the forthcoming commemoration there must be added that of the veteran Oriental scholar, Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson, former resident in Nepal, and the chief authority on all branches of learning and science connected with North-eastern India. Mr. Hodgson's appointment to the Bengal Civil Service dates from 1818, and he retired as long ago as 1844.

A MOST unusual number of professorships are now vacant at the universities. At Oxford,

Canon Rawlinson has just resigned the Camden chair of ancient history, which he has held for some twenty-seven years—thus adding a third vacancy to those caused by the deaths of Prof. Chandler and Sir F. Gore Ouseley. At Cambridge, it is announced that a successor to Prof. Wright in Sir Thomas Adams's chair of Arabic will be elected on June 24; while it is understood that Mr. Gosse will not again offer himself as a candidate for the Clark lectureship in English literature at Trinity College. Prof. Jebb's removal from Glasgow to Cambridge causes a vacancy in what has always been regarded as the most valuable professorship in the kingdom; while Prof. Nichol has resigned the chair of English literature at the same university, which he has occupied since its foundation in 1862. Both these last appointments are in the gift of the crown.

THE delegates of the common university fund at Oxford have appointed Mr. Falconer Madan, sub-librarian of the Bodleian, to a lectureship in mediæval palæography.

THE Rev. W. Eustace Daniel, of Worcester College, has been elected Grinfield lecturer on the Septuagint at Oxford.

THE library of the late Dr. Edersheim has been presented by his widow to Exeter College, of which he was a member; and a proposal has been started to purchase Prof. Chandler's library, or at least that section of it relating to Aristotle, for the Bodleian.

THE thanks of the university have been voted to Lord Brassey, in Convocation at Oxford, for his munificent contributions to the Indian Institute, amounting in all to nearly £9000.

THE following is the speech delivered at Cambridge on June 6 by the Public Orator, Dr. Sandys, in presenting for the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters Mr. A. Wollaston Franks, Keeper of the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities and Ethnography in the British Museum:

"Inter has Musarum sedes artium liberalium studiis consecratas quantum iuvat virum salutare cum tribus deinceps doctrinæ domiciliis, primum cum schola Etonensi, deinde Trinitatis cum collegio, denique cum Museo Britannico, non sine laude consociatum, qui artium in provincia non una inter principes numeratus, et Italiae renaissance et Orientis ultimi opera exquisita cura infinita collegit, collecta munificentia summa patriæ donavit. Idem non exterarum tantum gentium opera pulcherrima identidem Britanniae largitus est sed etiam semel saltem artis Britannicæ monumentum antiquissimum et pretiosissimum, sæculi noni dico cistellam Northumbriensem, inter exteros absconditum detexit, redemit, Britanniae reddidit. Munificentia singulari insignis ipse, munificentiae exemplum etiam aliis prætulit. Unī certe ex amicis suis auctor erat suæ sorque, ut in Academia non una sed et Londini et Oxoniæ et Cantabrigiæ, pecuniæ summa satis ampla legata, artium professores in perpetuum institueret. Ergo animi grati in testimonium hoc honore quantulumcumque alumnus nostrum libenter ornatus. Etenim, ut Ciceronis utar verbis, *quid est melius aut quid præstantius bonitate et beneficentia? Gratus autem animus est una virtus non solum maxima sed etiam mater virtutum omnium reliquarum.*"

HERE is another American example which Oxford and Cambridge might follow. A special account has been opened at Harvard University, somewhat analogous to the "conscience money" of our Treasury, which is entitled "Scholarship and Beneficiary Money Returned."

MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

IN the June number of the *Archæological Review* Mr. G. L. Gomme prints the first part of his paper on "Totemism in Britain," recently read before the Folklore Society. He has here brought together a very large amount

of curious information, mainly preserved in folklore, regarding legendary beliefs and customs as to animals, &c.; but we are not prepared to admit that the rigid family system, to which alone the name of "totemism" is properly applied, furnishes the common explanation of them all. The strongest evidence, as might perhaps be expected, comes from Ireland. The series on "Recent Archæological Research" is continued by Mr. C. F. Keary, whose competence to deal with numismatics is indisputable. After pointing out the praiseworthy activity of the coin department in the British Museum, he characterises as the two prominent features of modern numismatics (1) the tracing of historical evolution in the forms of coins generally, and (2) the special study of artistic growth in the case of Greek coins. Mr. David Nutt draws attention to the parallelism between certain features in the legend of the Holy Grail and in a Chinese legend of the Buddha's almsdish; but he is not disposed to admit direct borrowing. Mr. F. Haverfield describes, with illustrations, some Roman remains found in Carniola, and an inscribed Roman urn at Colechester. Finally, the project for a union of archæological societies is again advocated, with some criticisms of the resolutions adopted at the conference recently held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries.

THE *Revista Contemporanea* for May 30 opens with a notable article by the ex-premier, Cánovas del Castillo, on the political ideas in vogue in Spain at the advent of the Austrian dynasty. These were chiefly derived from translations from Aristotle's *Politics*, and the commentaries on it. A remarkable testimony of the lasting value of that treatise to a practical statesman is thus given: "The author of the present article has never turned over those golden pages without having found something which confirms his own practice of forty years of political life, and which opens new horizons to his meditations." The same number contains the conclusion of a valuable analysis by F. de Cardenas of the recently discovered compilation of Roman and Visigothic laws, with continuations of other important works.

ORIGINAL VERSE.

THE SPECTRUM.

How many colours here do we see set,
Like rings upon God's finger? Some say three,
Some four, some six, some seven. All agree
To left of red, to right of violet,
Waits darkness deep as night and black as jet.
And so we know what Noah saw we see
Nor less nor more—of God's emblazonry
A shred—a sign of glory known not yet.

If red can glide to yellow, green to blue,
What joys may yet await our wider eyes
When we awake upon a wider shore!
What deep pulsations exquisite and new;
What keener, swifter, raptures may surprise
Men born to see the rainbow and no more!

COSMO MONKHOUSE.

SELECTED FOREIGN BOOKS.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

- BÉCHET, E. Cinq ans de séjour au Soudan français. Paris: Plon. 4 fr.
BODEMANN, E. Der Briefwechsel d. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz in der künigl. öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Hannover. Hannover: Hahn. 12 M.
FAGUET, E. Notes sur le théâtre contemporain. Paris: Lecène. 3 fr. 50 c.
LAUTE, Ch. La manufacture nationale de Sèvres 1879-1887. Paris: Baillière. 8 fr.
MILLER, E. Le Mont Athos. Vathopédi et l'île de Thasos. Paris: Leroux. 10 fr.
WEISS, J. J. Le théâtre et les mœurs. Paris: Calmann Lévy. 3 fr. 50 c.

HISTORY, LAW, ETC.

ANNUAIRE de législation étrangère, publié par la société de législation comparée. 1887. Paris: Pichon. 18 fr.

DOMIERE, V. Die Absetzung Adolfs v. Nassau. Berlin: Mayer & Müller. 1 M. 80 Pf.

JANVIER, A. Les Clabault, famille municipale amiénoise 1849-1859. Amiens: Hequet-Décobert. 20 fr.

MAULDE-LA-CLAVIERE, R. de. Les origines de la révolution française au commencement du XVI^e siècle: la veille de la Réforme. Paris: Leroux. 8 fr.

SAINT-PERE, Rameau de. Une colonie féodale en Amérique: l'Acadie (1604-1811). Paris: Plon. 8 fr.

THOMMEN, R. Geschichte der Universität Basel 1532-1632. Basel: Detloff. 6 M. 40 Pf.

PHYSICAL SCIENCE.

GIROD, P. Manipulations de Zoologie: les animaux invertébrés. Paris: Baillière. 10 fr.

PHILOLOGY, ETC.

BRÜHAN, J. Die Futurbildung im Altfranzösischen. Leipzig: Fock. 1 M. 80 Pf.

COSSACK, H. Ueb. die altsächsische metrische Bearbeitung v. "Boethius, de consolatione philosophiae." Leipzig: Gräfe. 1 M. 30 Pf.

GRUNDRISSE der germanischen Philologie. Hrg. v. H. Paul. 1. Lfg. Strassburg: Trübner. 4 M.

JARNIK, J. U. Neuer vollständiger Index zu Diez' etymologischem Wörterbuche der romanischen Sprachen. Heilbronn: Henninger. 8 M.

LINKS, H. Studien zur Itala. Leipzig: Fock. 1 M.

SASSE, J. De numero plurali qui vocatur maiestatis. Leipzig: Fock. 1 M. 30 Pf.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CHAUCER'S "HOUSE OF FAME."

Aberystwith: June 9, 1889.

Although Mr. Palgrave very frankly admits the validity of the parallels which I drew in detail between the *House of Fame* and the *Divina Commedia*, he still, in my view, underestimates their true importance. They are, he will still have it, the results of deliberate, but still merely incidental, imitation on Chaucer's part, the "14 lines out of 2000," which they compose, supplying, as we are led to infer, the approximate measure of Chaucer's indebtedness to Dante. I must still, however, insist that this indebtedness is by no means measured by the number of palpably parallel passages. Chaucer was no servile borrower; and the method of minute textual comparison, though decisive as far as it goes, is in his case thoroughly fallacious if relied on alone. The influence of Dante has, in fact, coloured the details of the *House of Fame* decidedly less than its plan.

Let me for a moment dwell upon this point, and at the same time attempt to show more precisely in what way the *House of Fame* is classifiable as, in Dante's sense, a comedy. So much, indeed, I readily admit at the outset, that the *House of Fame* is not by any means an antithesis to the "tragedy" of *Troilus*; and that though, as I shall show, the element of "ascent" is present, and even fundamental, in it, Chaucer was probably thinking not less of the more general quality of his intended poem as a "counterpart" of the "comedy" *par excellence*. I am willing to take my stand upon the sentence of Ten Brink's quoted in my review, which still seems to me to express most felicitously the fundamental point of contact between the two poems: "Aus schillem Anfang entwickelt sich durch die Führung höherer Mächte das Gute." The "initial evil" (1) is in both, by the "guidance of higher powers" (2), turned to "good" (3). The "initial evil" is Chaucer's own "distress" at his "hapless state," "desperate of all bliss," borne though it be "debonairly" enough. This is the true starting-point of the action. His unhappiness, like Dante's, is the occasion of the divinely-sent aid of which his past history—his poetic services to Love—are the cause. This, I think, shows us the place in the economy of the poem of the apparently incongruous first book. "The first book," says Mr. Palgrave, "after a general discussion upon dreams, contains simply an abridgment of the

Aeneid, touching pretty fully upon Dido and upon other tragic loves," &c. The point to note, however, is that this "abridgment of the *Aeneid*" is figured on the walls of the Temple of Venus; that it is represented as the crowning marvel of Fame (poor Dido shrinks in fear at the prospect of having her shame thus immortalised); that Virgil, as the supreme dispenser of Fame, stands to Chaucer's vision in an analogous initial relation to that in which, as the describer of the underworld, he stands to Dante's; and that Chaucer, as already said, obtains this vision as the reward of his service to Venus. Is it too bold to suggest, in passing, that Venus, thus doubly related to Virgil and to Chaucer, is the Chaucerian counterpart of Beatrice? Without dwelling on that point, however, we note next that the poet, as already said, is carried by the Eagle as the agent of "Joves" to the precincts of the House of Fame. The House neither is, nor is intended to be, a copy of any one of Dante's three worlds; but it is composed no less obviously with reference to them. The whole conception is indeed, in comparison with Dante's, Humanist, Pagan, though the manner and style may be called, in comparison with his, mediæval, even infantine. Fame is a capricious goddess, the sister of Fortune, and her decrees are far from corresponding to the worth, still less to the wishes, of the applicants. Some get Fame without deserving it, others without desiring it; others desire or deserve, without getting it; some do not desire it, and do not get it. Yet this is sufficiently unlike the terrible definiteness with which, in Dante's world, final fate stands related to former conduct; but the unlikeness belongs to the plan of the two poems. Dante's world is the creation of inflexible Divine justice, Chaucer's of the capricious verdicts and sentences of man. And, on the other hand, the very precision and minuteness of these subdivisions of the inhabitants of the House of Fame recall this striking feature of the Dantean world. All the possible varieties of mental attitude towards fame are distinguished with well-applied but not exactly Chaucerian subtlety, and their representatives assigned each as it were to his own *bolgia*. Lastly comes the transition to the House of Rumour. This was clearly intended to be the climax of the poem, though the fact is somewhat disguised by its unfinished state. Two things are implied however—first, that Chaucer aspires here to "learn some good," and secondly, that the Eagle, commissioned by Jove, designs that this aspiration shall be gratified. By the Eagle's aid he is enabled to enter the whirling house which at first sight utterly baffled him (we are again reminded of Virgil's potent aid on repeated occasions to Dante); and then, after witnessing the uproarious tumult of its inhabitants, he finally sees a man who seems to be "of great authority." At this point the poem tantalisingly breaks off, and it would be idle to speculate on the intended sequel. But it is highly probable that the "man of authority" is to be the medium of that "good" which Chaucer hopes to evoke from the tangled confusion of the House of Rumour, and which it is the will of Jove he should obtain. "For Fame itself," as Mr. Palgrave says, "Chaucer expresses no ambition"; nor would it be easy, had he done so to imagine a less Chaucerian procedure. The "good" need not for the present purpose be defined: it is only material that Chaucer obtained it, whatever it was. It appears, however, rather to have consisted of the revelation of some truth, by which the ardent curiosity of the student was to be gratified, than in a promise of lasting renown, which Chaucer doubtless desired, but had neither the naïveté nor the splendid assurance to assert his claim to. With great art this

final *passus* of the poem is immediately preceded by the repetition (in the mouth of the Eagle), in still more emphatic terms than before, of the description of the "distress," the relief from which was here consummated.

I trust that this sketch, which is still far from exhausting the points of contact between the two poems, will suffice to show that the *House of Fame* may fairly be called a "counterpart" of the *Divine Comedy*, and could in this sense be naturally referred to as a "comedy" by Chaucer himself.

C. H. HERFORD.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD "GOD."

Wood Green: June 8, 1889.

In a paper on the etymology of the word "God" read before the Philological Society some three or four years ago, and reported in the ACADEMY, I took the same objection as does Mr. Mayhew to Fick's derivation of the name "God" (ACADEMY, June 8, 1889, p. 397). I referred it to the root *ghu*, to utter, sound, an onomatopoeic root, as seen in Marathi *ghughu*, the hoot of an owl. We have extensions of this root in *ghu-r*, *gho-ra*, *ghu-sh*, *ghosha*. In Sanskrit *ghora* is "dreadful"; in Marathi it has the more concrete meaning of "the dying rattles," "loud howling," a battle, a swollen river.

From the root *ghu* we get *ghuta*, a neuter substantive, signifying originally "thunder," just as from *garj*, to sound, roar, we have *garjita*, "thunder." This last word is usually connected with the Sanskrit root *tan*, to sound; cf. Sanskrit *stanita*, "thunder," from root *stan*, to sound, thunder.

According to my theory, "God" would = Thor—(1) thunder, (2) the thunderer, the storm god. The Sanskrit *deva* I would connect not with *div*, to shine, but with *div*, to howl, wail (cf. Sanskrit *devana*, "wailing").

The Greek *theos* cannot have meant originally "creator," or anything so "spiritual or lofty." Its connexion with Sanskrit *deva* and *deus* has long been given up. If *theos* stands for *thēfōs* we might connect it with the root *dhā*, to shake, from which we have a number of derivatives signifying wind, storm, &c. There was probably a root *dhu* "to sound" (whence Sanskrit *dhanu*) from the strong form of which *theos* may be derived.

The derivation of "Yah," Jehovah, from the Hebrew root "to be," is subject to the same objection as Fick's derivation of "God": it is too abstract. In Assyrian, I believe, *Yah* occurs as *Aa*, and is connected with a root meaning sound, thunder.

This theory of the origin of the English word "God" is a simple and natural one, in accordance with the growth of religious ideas; and the derivation of *deus*, *theos*, and *Yah* is on all fours with it.

R. MORRIS.

APPOINTMENTS FOR NEXT WEEK.

MONDAY, June 17, 4 p.m., Asiatic: "The Babes of Persia: II. Their Tenets and Literature," by Mr. Edward G. Browne.

8 p.m., Aristotelian: Symposium, "The Nature of Force," by Dr. A. Bain, Prof. Dunstan, and Dr. Johnstone Stoney.

TUESDAY, June 18, 8 p.m., Colonial Institute: "The Native Princes of India, and their Relations with the British Government," by Sir Lepel Griffin.

8.30 p.m., Zoological: "A Supposed New Genus and Species of Pelagic Gadoids from the Mediterranean," by Prof. Henry H. Gillioli; "A Collection of Land Shells made in Borneo by Mr. A. Everett, with Descriptions of supposed New Species," by Lieut. Col. H. H. Godwin-Austen; "List of Birds collected by Mr. H. C. V. Hunter in Masai-land," by Capt. G. E. Shelley; "Description of Hunter's Antelope," by Mr. P. L. Selater.

WEDNESDAY, June 19, 8 p.m., Geological.
8 p.m., Gymnadorion: Annual Reunion.

THURSDAY, June 20, 4.30 p.m. University College: Barlow Lecture, "Dante's Classification of Sins in the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*," by the Rev. Dr. E. Moore.

8 p.m. Linnean: "The Mammals, Reptiles, and Batrachia of the Mergui Archipelago," by Dr. John Anderson; "The Prolonged Vitality in a Fritillary Bulb," by Mr. Charles Parkes.

8 p.m. Chemical: Ballot for Election of Fellows.

8.30 p.m. Antiquaries.

FRIDAY, June 21, 8.30 p.m. British Museum: "Babylonian Astronomy, III., the Zodiac," by Mr. G. Bertin.

8 p.m. Philological: "The Chinese Ku-Wen," by Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie.

SATURDAY, June 22, 3 p.m. Physical: "Researches on the Electrical Resistance of Bismuth," by Dr. Edmond von Aubel.

SCIENCE.

Moral Order and Progress. By S. Alexander. (Trübner.)

To say anything new on the subject of ethics might have seemed hopeless at the present day, much more to construct a new ethical theory. Nevertheless, this apparently impossible feat has been accomplished by Mr. Alexander. His work is described in its second title as "an analysis of ethical conceptions"; but the analysis, which might have been so conducted as merely to exhibit with greater clearness the doctrines of some established school, serves in fact to reinterpret morality in the light of recent researches, but on the lines of an original system.

In order to preclude any possible misconception, let me at once state that Mr. Alexander does not tamper with any of the moral distinctions generally recognised by modern society. He does not advocate infanticide, or the abolition of marriage, or the restriction of its privileges to a select few, or even the general confiscation of property. Nothing that he advances will give rise to a correspondence in the *Daily Telegraph*. Assuming the facts of duty as undisputed, his object is to show, as others before him have tried to show, how they can be brought under a general formula and studied in relation to the truths of physical science. But here again his attitude is as little as possible that of a revolutionist. His formula professes to embrace rather than to exclude the formulas of other ethical thinkers. More particularly does he appear as a mediator between the two opposing tendencies that have long divided English speculation on the subject—between the school that regards morality as the means towards an ulterior end (usually defined as happiness or pleasure) and the school that regards it as itself the chief, if not the sole, end of life. It might seem at first sight as if Mr. Alexander were an uncompromising advocate of the latter view. He tells us that the end of life is good character; that pleasure is not the object of morality; that the end of conduct is good conduct. On the other hand, there are issues with respect to which he expresses himself in a manner that would satisfy the most thoroughgoing disciple of Mill.

"Everyone recognises that moral judgments depend on experience" (p. 6). "We need no special faculty of whatever sort to teach us morality, not even do we require a faculty of reason" (p. 141). "Except for the authority of one or two great names, there seems to be a general agreement that the will is determined by character and circumstance" (p. 336). "The idea of free-will [as understood, for example, by Dr. Martineau] is a sheer delusion" (p. 338). "There is no such thing as an absolute morality

in comparison with which other conduct is variable and relative" (p. 293);

—the absolutely and eternally good thing being, as our author explains, the adjustment of conduct to certain changeable conditions.

Here, in fact, we have touched the keynote of Mr. Alexander's theory. Instead of isolating certain feelings, impulses, or actions from the rest, and appropriating to them the title of moral, he defines the moral ideal as

"an adjusted order of conduct, which is based upon contending inclinations and establishes an equilibrium between them" (p. 399). "Morality means an equilibrium of the moral sentiments, and conversely any sentiment is moral which can be equilibrated with the rest" (p. 107).

The conditions of this equilibrium are determined for each individual by the requirements of the society in which he lives, the moral order of which is also an equilibrium, an adjustment of conflicting claims on the part of its members, reproduced in miniature by the harmonious system of volitions which constitutes good conduct or character in them.

"Obligation is that relation in which the single part of the order stands to the whole order, when it is confronted by the whole: whether we are considering the relation of a man's acts to the whole of his own character or of a single individual to the institutions of society. Duty in the abstract is the name which comprehends obligation in all its details" (p. 142).

If we ask what is the good of equilibration, we shall probably be told that the very notion of goodness derives its meaning from this mutual adjustment and smooth co-operation of different elements in a single system, that conduct contains its own good within itself, and seeks for no extraneous end. If, accepting the identification of conduct with life itself, we follow the example of Mr. Spencer, and run up all moral issues into the single question, "What makes life worth living?" we shall be referred to the persistent vitality of well-adjusted organisms as the practical solution of our difficulty. "The preferableness of existence is proved by the fact of existence" (p. 232). As among different existences, the preferableness of one is proved by its survival and their extinction. If there is anyone among us so cynical as to ask why the individual should sacrifice himself to the interests of others, Mr. Alexander will tell him that, to begin with, sociality is a fact of experience necessarily assumed as such by the moralist; that, further, as they grow up under the stringent conditions of sociality, all men, good and bad alike, form for themselves ideals of conduct which they strive to put into practice; that the good man will accept with equanimity such disadvantages to himself as are necessarily incidental to the realisation of his ideal; and that there is a struggle for existence always going on among the conflicting ideals which, as in the corresponding struggle of animal species, results in the survival of the fittest, that is to say, of the morally good. If, desiring to be good, we ask how, in the absence of a moral faculty, we are to know whether a particular action fulfils the difficult condition of maintaining the social equilibrium, Mr. Alexander will, like Hegel, refer us for guidance to the great social institutions of property, marriage, and so forth, in which the conditions of equilibrium

ascertained and agreed on at any time are consolidated and made objective; but, unlike Hegel, he will refuse to stereotype any set of institutions. He will tell us that the social conditions are ever changing, and that the standard which represents their equilibrium needs to be periodically readjusted. Here, again, he will apply the Darwinian method, and will teach us to find in the struggle of ideals the mainspring of moral progress. But he will not, with Mr. Spencer, assign a goal to progress; still less will he consent to define the ultimate stage as a state of mobile equilibrium, since, according to him, such an equilibrium is realised at every stage in the history of morality.

Our opposing systems of moral philosophy have been developed by the usual processes of evolution from the teaching of Socrates and his successors. It is, therefore, natural that a system whose object is to reconcile them should largely reproduce the spirit of Greek ethical reflection, especially when it proceeds from a university where Plato and Aristotle are assiduously studied—and studied, too, under the influence of Hegel, the most Hellenic of modern philosophers. There is much in this volume to remind the reader of the *Republic* and the *Nicomachean Ethics*; and Mr. Alexander himself is fully conscious of the resemblance between his standpoint and that of their authors. He would apparently explain it by the more general fact that in the ascending spiral of progress we have reached a point almost vertically above the one on which they stood. It is a relief to find our civilisation classed with something fresher and brighter than the Roman empire in its decline. Without suggesting any invidious comparisons in that direction, I may mention that Mr. Alexander, in his valuable remarks on the specialisation of individual duty, reminds me much more of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius than of the classic idealists.

The idea variously expressed as compromise, adjustment, harmony, or equilibrium, will probably be accepted by all as a constant note of morality; on occasions, even, as its best description. But what we want is a generating formula whence the acknowledged truths of morality and the direction of its future development may be most easily and fully deduced. Mr. Alexander shows wonderful patience, ingenuity, and subtlety in the application of his ethical method to the phenomena; but he avoids the crucial test. He never brings it to bear on such disputed questions of duty as the politics of our time supply in abundance. He would admit that the hedonistic formula practically leads to the same conclusions as his own; and to me, at least, it seems more intelligible, useful, and comprehensive. Hedonism may be unfashionable; but to speak of it as outgrown is at least premature. The ideas of vital evolution, of a social organism, of the state or of humanity as living wholes exercising moral authority over their individual members, do not conflict with or supersede the old utilitarianism; they give it greater extension and precision. Some duties may be best interpreted as necessary conditions of social order and progress; but the maintenance of society is itself a primary condition of our creation, preservation, and all

the blessings of this life. Mr. Alexander seems to have acquired from long intercourse with the spiritualistic school what I must call an irrational dread of pleasure. Yet, with his customary and admirable candour, he has pointed out how the undue restriction of the term to the commoner and coarser varieties of pleasure is responsible for much of the prejudice against it (p. 203); and he disputes Green's contention that the end cannot be pleasure, because pleasure consists in individual feelings that cannot be summed (p. 200). To the argument that pleasure is lost by pursuing it, he furnishes the sufficient answer that it may be procured by seeking its causes (p. 224). He admits that

"the end may be justly estimated in terms of pleasure" (p. 196); that "pleasure is part of the end by which all conduct is judged" (p. 211); that "the order of good conduct represents the maximum of happiness, counting pain as a set-off against pleasure" (p. 217); that "morality can be expressed in terms of all the pleasures and pains involved in action, reckoning the purely ethical pleasures among the rest" (*ibid.*).

Why, then, it may be asked, do you not accept the hedonistic standard at once, instead of laboriously constructing a new system of ethics? The answer seems to be twofold: first, it is urged that morality has to do with volitions—which may be readily admitted; and that pleasure by itself as a mere state or feeling cannot be willed (p. 165), which is true also, but not to the point. When of two or more actions we will to perform one solely because it yields more pleasure than another, we are making the pleasure as such our standard of action. Secondly, it is objected that pleasures differ from one another in kind, and that "it is morality itself which settles which of two pleasures ought to be preferred" (p. 207), so that morality, not pleasure, must be taken as the standard. But I for one fail to see how morality can decide the point, except by tracing the consequences to ourselves or others of each particular gratification, finally arriving, as an ultimate standard of comparison, at purely quantitative differences.

Mr. Alexander himself supplies a couple of instances that well illustrate the advantage of the hedonistic method over his own. After very properly bringing the cultivation of art and science under the head of good conduct, in tacit contradiction to the arbitrary distinction of Matthew Arnold, after placing the duty of attaining to truth and beauty at "the summit of the institutions of society" (p. 258), he has no better explanation to offer of "the duty of truth in knowledge" than that it is "an enlargement of the social duty of veracity" (*ibid.*). The utilitarian would first show what benefits were conferred on humanity by scientific knowledge, and then how entirely they depended on the accuracy of scientific statements, how much energy that might have been applied to making positive discoveries was expended in discrediting the false statements of unvarnished enquirers. Reviewers know something of this wasteful neutralisation. Again, duties to animals are accounted for, with a vague reservation, as an extension of humanity from man to "merely sentient creatures" (*ibid.*). That, no doubt, is how the duties in question historically came to be recognised; but once our attention is called

to the subject hedonism can deduce them directly from its first principles. Moreover, it can prove, by an equally summary process, the bottomless absurdity of that tenderness to plants which our author seems to anticipate as a future development of morality (pp. 278 and 396). Should more rational methods fail, an agitation for preventing cruelty to cabbages might, perhaps, be efficaciously met by a movement in favour of babyhood suffrage.

Mr. Alexander's book is marked throughout by distinguished philosophical ability. Even what I believe to be his errors are those naturally incident to an original, subtle, and comprehensive intellect. If Lewes was right in holding that a man's philosophy, when not borrowed, is little more than the expression of his personality, then the theory that interprets morality as equilibrated conduct was, perhaps, suggested by a method of thinking pre-eminently directed towards the adjustment and reconciliation of opposing ethical systems.

ALFRED W. BENN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SERBIAN GRAMMAR.

Oxford: June 10, 1889.

I hope you will allow me a few lines in reply to an unfriendly critic, who writes under the initials W. W., in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* of June 8, a review of my little Serbian Grammar (Trübner's series of "Simplified Grammars"). Ignoring the plan of these works, which is to give merely a skeleton of the language chiefly for comparative purposes, he blames me for sins of omission. For these I shall not offer any apology, as my book had to be confined to certain limits; but I shall proceed at once to a few points in which he finds more serious fault.

1. He objects to my inserting the nouns *oči* and *uši* among the *s-* stems; but I did so, following Miklosich, upon whose comparative grammar my little book is mainly founded (see *Vergleichende Grammatik*, zweite Ausgabe, iii. 214). This arrangement is in harmony with comparative Slavonic grammar, which shows that these nouns properly belong to that declension (*ibid.* iii. 302, and, indeed, *passim*).

2. He draws a most unfair inference from my remark on p. 60 about the connexion between the Serbian *isao* and the Russian *isel*, and insinuates that I do not know that the borrowed past tense of *iti* "to go" (Russian), and the corresponding verb in the other Slavonic languages, is from the root *ved* = *hod* = *chod* (*Mik. Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Slav. Sprachen*, p. 86). I am afraid it is rather late in the day to give me this rudimentary information. The idea was suggested to me by the remark of Miklosich, 582: "Das *i* in *isel* ist durch *iti*, *ida*, hervorgerufen: eine Aussicht die schon für das *s. isao* ausgesprochen wurde." Seeing that so many modern Slavonic languages showed this prothetic *i*, I had thought that it was a regular development—thus Slovenish *isel*, *isil*; Bulg. *ot-isel*; Malo-Russian *isil*; Russian (in dialects) *isel*; Čech *isel* (occasionally); Upper Serbish *zajisil*. Since writing the note in my Grammar I have felt that it was wrong to base anything upon this form recurring in so many Slavonic languages, and should wish my reference cancelled; but to insinuate that I did it in ignorance of a piece of rudimentary grammar is not fair criticism.

3. In conclusion, the reviewer blames me for mentioning the poet Radičević, while speaking of the Serbo-Croatian dialects, as a piece of useless information. But surely in a language where several dialects are struggling for pre-eminence, and the books published in them exhibit such varieties, it is not unimportant to know that in studying a particular dialect we shall render ourselves better able to appreciate a leading author. "What is the use of this solitary name?" asks my reviewer. The use is that it is the name of the most popular poet in the Serbian language.

W. R. MORFILL.

THE OLDEST CHINESE CHARACTERS.

London: May 27, 1889.

I am very grateful to Mr. L. C. Hopkins, of H.B.M. Consular Service in China, for his letter (ACADEMY, May 18) in which he has made a searching criticism of my paper on "The Old Babylonian Characters and their Early Chinese Derivates." I appreciate the more his attempt at impartiality because, brought up like himself in the dark grove of Chinese conventionalism and routine, it has cost me ten years of toil to get out of it and reach the clear light of day. The criticism is welcome on another ground, since it gives me the opportunity of putting forth some explanations which were too much curtailed in the paper referred to.

My identification of the legend of Shennung with that of Sargon (which Mr. W. St. Chad Boscawen has shown to be more complete than I had myself stated), and of the names of Huangti and Nakhunte, rests on so large an amount of circumstantial evidence that it is impossible to set it aside, even supposing—which is not the case—that the distortion naturally caused during so many centuries would have changed the legends beyond recognition. The name of the Baks, who were known in Western Asia, stands in the same position. In chap. vii. of an article resuming the proofs of the western sources of early Chinese civilisation, now in course of publication in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, I have given a summary of the evidence on the few points objected to. The fact is that, if these disclosures had concerned another country than China, they would have been accepted without discussion; but in the present case the sole objection comes from all-powerful routine, and nothing else. Scholars engaged in other researches would be amazed at the amount of rubbish and conventionalities without foundation which form the baggage of traditional Sinology, where scientific method is unknown. Welcome to Mr. Hopkins if he is strong enough and sufficiently independent to cast off the yoke, but he must trust me that it will be a hard task which he has not yet achieved.

Since, as was frankly admitted by Dr. J. Edkins in the columns of the ACADEMY, I was the first among Sinologists to call attention to the importance of the Ku-wen, I think myself entitled to express some surprise that Mr. Hopkins should have entered into the field without having mastered what is known of the primitive style of writing in China. He has criticised some forms of Ku-wen characters given by me, not because they are not Ku-wen, which he has not studied, but because they are not similar to those of a writing in use during the five or six centuries preceding the Christian era. Such criticisms might have been dismissed without further comment. But the facts put forth by Mr. Hopkins might mislead some of your readers unaware of the circumstances of the case, and I wish the matter to be put in a clear light. Mr. Hopkins, again, lays great stress on a threefold agreement of the *Shuoh*

wen, the *Luh shu t'ung*, and the *Luh shu ku*, in certain forms of characters, as establishing the primitive value of these forms. The aim of the author of the *Shwoh wen* was to give the best forms, according to his views, of the Tchuen writing in use during a few centuries before the Christian era, and simplified from the Ta Tchuen writing invented by Sze-tch'ou in 820 B.C. This work is therefore no authority for the characters of older times. The *Luh shu t'ung*, which I have highly praised, as containing all the forms of characters in the successive ages, reproduces among others those of the *Shwoh wen*. The third authority referred to, that of the *Luh shu ku* by Tai Tung (1318), has received an undeserved honour in the translation of the introduction by Mr. Hopkins himself, published with estimable annotations under the title of *The Six Scripts* (Amoy, 1881). The *Luh shu ku* is as uncritical as it is voluminous, i.e., thirty-three K. in nine sections. Its author made a false start, which vitiated all his work. He assumed that the six principles of writing the characters which he found in the *Shwoh wen* as those of the Tchuen style were the same as those of the earliest times, which they were not; and he set to work criticising what he did not understand, and fancying primitive forms which never existed outside his own imagination. The worst of it is that he actually forged characters as being primitive. For instance, the character *teh*, *tak* "to get," is now written with the following elements: sixtieth radical on the left, *jih* "the sun," *yh* "one" under it, and *ts'un* "inch," below; the Tchuen style shows that *jih* and *yh* are a corruption of *kien* "to see"; the Ku-wen, or oldest form, was composed of this *kien* and *ts'un* beneath it, the mute ideogram or radical not having yet been added to. The oldest sounds were *t'on* for *ts'un* (cf. the Sino-Annamite archaism *t'un*) and *kin* or *kim* for *kien*; both characters were part-phonetics in the compound, *t'on* below suggesting the initial *ho-* and *kim* above for the final *-k*, according to one of the laws of composition of the oldest Ku-wen. The author of the *Luh shu ku* had in his mind that the compound *kien* and *ts'un* could not be right, and that the complex symbol ought to have represented a hand thumbing holding a cowry; and accordingly he drew a little picture which he gave as the genuine original. Such were the methods of the worthy Tai Tung to get at the truth. My readers will agree with me that his work had better be shelved than trusted to by students of Chinese palaeography. The great threefold authority on which Mr. Hopkins has built his castle is, therefore, built on sand. It does not refer to the original Chinese characters.

It is important for all those who wish to study Chinese palaeography that no misgivings should remain on the following points:—The oldest Chinese writing, the Ku-wen, which was derived more or less indirectly from the old Babylonian characters, remained traditionally in use until the time of Confucius and Lao-tze—and even later in some parts of the Chinese dominion—the only alterations introduced being those resulting from the gradual and unequal oblivion of the old rules of spelling and composing the complex characters, and the progressive divergence of the spoken dialects. In 820 B.C. an important recast of the writing was made by Sze-tch'ou, the historiographer of King Siuen of Tchou. In order to avoid the local variants, and that the same characters should everywhere have the same meaning, many of them were modified hieroglyphically, and mute ideograms were added to the former signs in much larger number than before. I have a MS. vocabulary of these remodelled characters. By the by, this reform of many symbols and the forgeries of old

bronze inscriptions under the Sung Dynasty, which Dr. Chalmers and myself have branded, have prevented several Chinese writers from obtaining a clear view of the remarkable history of writing in China. The Ta Tchuen, or Great Seal characters—such is the name of the new style of writing invented by Sze-tch'ou—were not accepted in his time throughout the whole country, because of the impotence of the central authority and the political disorders which ensued. The views of Sze-tch'ou, however, made their way; and the written characters he had formed, as well as many others constructed on the same principles, gradually ousted the ancient Ku-wen forms. At the time of the unification of the Empire by She Huangti in 221 B.C., there were many variants in the shapes of written characters used in the several ancient states, and uniformity was urgently required. The teachings of Sze-tch'ou in fifteen books (*Sze-tch'ou shih wu pien*) were then taught in the public schools. But they were not sufficient; and Li-sze, the minister of She Huang-ti, set to work himself and wrote a book—now lost—on the seven rules of the oldest Chinese writing which had been taught by Tsang kieh, in which he advocated a much simpler style of writing. Tobao Kao, on the other hand, a contemporary official, upheld the six principles of Sze-tch'ou in a work called *Yuen-li*. And a few years afterwards Hu Muking, a great historiographer, wrote a book on the written characters, following the seven principles put forth by Li-sze. The result of their labours was the production of several thousands of characters, simplified from the ancient ones, but somewhat irregular in the rules of their composition. These form the Siao Tchuen or Lesser Seal characters, which remained in use until their substitution by the Li-shu, also called *Ts'o-shu*, in the reign of Wen-ti, which began in 179 B.C. This new style was the work of an old official of She Huang-ti, Tch'eng Miao, who had employed for that purpose the hair-pencil,* invented by Mung-tien in 220 B.C. Simplifying the Siao Tchuen writing into square and bold strokes, he formed 3000 characters, which became the pattern of the new style. It is this writing which—modified into the Heng-shu or current writing by Liu Teh-tcheng (A.D. 147-188), greatly improved by Wang Hien-tchi (circa A.D. 379), and slightly altered under the Sung dynasty—has become the *Kiai shu*, or model style, the present writing for printing in China.

The characters invented by Sze-tch'ou about 820 B.C., and simplified afterwards, as well as those formed according to his principles, or principles supposed to be his, did not, as we have seen, remain unchanged at the beginning of the Earlier Han Dynasty. They had been discarded in the governmental offices, and consequently were liable to be forgotten. It was under the Later Han Dynasty, at the close of the first century of our era, that Hui-shen, a great scholar, and pupil of Kia-Kwei (A.D. 30-101), undertook the task of collecting all the Tchuen characters, which had been framed faithfully with the rules of Sze-tch'ou, in his own words: *Kin sii tchuen wen hoh y ku Tch'ou poh*, of his introduction—cf. *Shwoh wen*, ed. 1598 (identical with that of 986) *Hui-Shen tze sii*, fol. 7, verso. He thus collected 9353 characters, among all those in existence down to his own time, as answering to the six rules or *Luh shu* of Sze-tch'ou, which he had found in (a commentary on) the Tchou-li, and which were or were not exactly those framed by the histori-

* Previously to the invention of the hair-pencil, the characters were either cut incuse with an appropriate graving knife on bamboo slips or tablets, or written with lacquer on silk or bamboo with a bamboo-pencil described by Tchwangtze, a sort of reed.

grapher of Siuen Wang. The thorough homogeneity of his collection of characters has caused his work, the *Shwoh wen*, to become, more or less openly, the authority for philological matters in China; and eighteen centuries after his death he was rewarded (in 1875) with a shrine in the temple of Confucius. The *Shwoh wen* has been much worked upon by subsequent scholars, notably in the last and present centuries. The combined results of their efforts may be seen in the arranged and classified English edition of the work, which Dr. J. Chalmers has given with much labour and success, under the following title: *An Account of the Structure of Chinese Characters under 300 Primary Forms; after the Shwoh-wan*, A.D. 100 (1882), and the *Phonetic Shwoh-wan* (1833).

I hope this page of history will dissipate any misapprehension regarding the real nature of the forms of characters illustrated in the *Shwoh wen*. The work is no authority on the oldest Chinese characters, which are not found in it, excepting a few cases of survival. Hui-shen himself took care to warn his readers against any misconception of the kind. Having described the Ku-wen characters as those in which the ancient classics, as well as the oldest inscriptions, were written, he explains that he referred to them only to make sure of the meaning of the Tchuen characters, which had been substituted for them—cf. his own preface, ff. 3 and 6. And in the course of his work he gives 441 Ku-wen forms with that object in view (not reproduced in the English version).

The oldest or Ku-wen characters have been preserved to us through several agencies; such as the engraving in stone of the ancient classics—as, for instance, 547 characters from the *Shu-King*, the *Yh King* complete, and parts of several other classics which were so engraved by Tsai-yung, by imperial command, in A.D. 175. These, and the 441 quoted incidentally by Hui-shen, must be added to the characters of the genuine inscriptions still in existence, which are available for study either by themselves or by casts and prints of them. The Ku-wen characters separately have been carefully collected, as well as those of subsequent times, in such works as the *Luh shu t'ung*, in ten books by Min Tsai'ih (1661), who devoted a long life of study to its completion, and has given in it his authorities, inscriptions, and monuments for every form. This work has been several times printed. Not long ago a white paper edition was issued in China, but it was so badly written that the characters therein are distorted and untrustworthy. I have worked on a splendid edition on yellow paper (1718). The *Luh shu fun tui* by Fu Lwan-siang, in twelve books (1751), is a work of the same kind, still more complete but somewhat less critical in the selection of its sources.

It is in the inscriptions and in such works that the Ku-wen characters must be studied; and the enquirer will see that their forms, like those of all MS. characters, have a certain looseness in shape, which it will be his task to become master of, by comparing the various instances of one and the same character as written by different scribes. The process requires some years of experience before it can be made use of in comparisons.

After this exposition of the case, which I have made as short as clearness permits, my readers will find that not much remains of Mr. Hopkins's criticisms. He has ignored the first principle of comparative palaeography—that any comparison of written characters, with a view to discovering their original source, must be based solely upon their oldest forms. The survival of primitive forms in isolated cases may cause some illusions, but they cannot affect the absoluteness of the law. All the instances given in my paper were taken, either from the Ku-wen forms (including the oldest inscrip-

tions), given in the valuable works of Min Tsik'ih and of Fu Lwansiang, or direct from the inscriptions in my own dictionary of the Ku-wen characters (MS.), after comparison of the various forms in that primitive style of writing. As stated in my paper "The Old Babylonian, &c.," I have also made much use of the *Tchuen tse wei* by Tung Wei-fu (1691), where a large number of variants of Ku-wen and Tchuen characters are given.

Little space remains to answer severally every one of Mr. Hopkins's criticisms. All the characters given as instances in my paper have several meanings in common with their antecedents in Western Asia, though the exigencies of brevity did not permit me to quote more than one, as one was sufficient to prevent any mistake.

I shall adduce only one instance on which my critic has greatly insisted, in order to show that he has engaged in a task which would require more study than he seems to have devoted to it. It is with reference to the complex symbol, *Ming*, "bright," which is now commonly written "sun" and "moon," but was not so in primitive times. The character on the right had assumed the shape of "moon" as early as the Ku-wen period; but after examining the Ku-wen form so called in Min Tsik'ih (iv. 24 v.) I think that it was another character altogether, though cognate in shape. Mr. Hopkins is right in criticising the printing of that character in my paper, where an internal stroke has failed to appear. The left-hand sign was *muh*, "the eye," in one of the most frequent forms in the Ku-wen style, as may be seen in the same work (ix. 2 v.), and not at all the "sun" (ix. 14 v.). The fact is so well known that the two forms, "eye-moon" and "sun-moon," are often given in dictionaries.

I thank Mr. Hopkins for having called my attention to several misprints, which will be rectified in a forthcoming comparative list. One misprint, however, he has reproduced without correcting it; the name *K'oh tou* was given by Kung Ngan-Kwoh in the second century B.C., not A.D.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

SCIENCE NOTES.

WE understand that a committee of the Anthropological Institute has just been formed for the purpose of advising barrow openers and other archaeological explorers. General Pitt-Rivers, the official Inspector of Ancient Monuments, finds that a great deal of irreparable damage has been done by unskilled explorers, who have neglected that accurate examination of the exhumed relics which is demanded by modern science—this neglect being especially notable with regard to the measurements of human skeletons and animal remains. At his instance a standing committee of aid has been appointed, and a schedule of instructions for explorers will in due course be drawn up.

THE President of the Chemical Society, Dr. W. J. Russell, and Miss Russell, received at the Grosvenor Gallery on Friday evening, June 7, a large number of fellows of the society and other guests, whom they had invited to meet Prof. Mendeleeff, the Russian chemist, who was to have delivered the Faraday lecture to the society. The lecture was instituted by the Chemical Society in 1869 in honour of Faraday, and has been delivered by men of such world-wide reputation as Dumas, Cannizzaro, Wurtz, Hoffmann, and Helmholtz. Prof. Mendeleeff, to the deep regret of his British friends, was suddenly recalled to Russia on account of the illness of his child. Prof. Mendeleeff is the discover of the Periodic Law of the Chemical Elements, which has not only afforded to chemists a means of classifying the elements,

but has actually provided them with a weapon of prophecy so accurate that the properties of the three most recently discovered elements—gallium, scandium, and germanium—have been found to be almost exactly those which Mendeleeff twenty years ago pointed out would pertain to elements yet to be discovered, and which he named eka-aluminium, eka-boron, and eka-silicon.

PHILOLOGY NOTES.

THE June number of the *Classical Review* contains several interesting papers. Mr. F. W. Walker continues his "Philological Notes." He deals with the question of the *v*-perfect in Latin, arguing that the so-called syncopated inflexion *amasti* is prior to the longer form *amavisti*. Next is printed the last contribution of the lamented J. H. Onions, entitled "Verisimilia Noniana." Then we have a second instalment of Mr. T. W. Allen's "Notes on Greek MSS. in Italian Libraries," treating this time of Bologna and Genoa. J.E.B.M. contributes some more reminiscences of Dr. Kennedy and his methods of teaching; while Prof. Cook Wilson writes of his own schoolmaster, the Rev. Walter Clark of Derby, himself a pupil of Kennedy, and does not shrink to sign his name to this sentence:

"Even those of us among his pupils who had intended to go to Oxford caught from him an enthusiasm for the Cambridge style of scholarship and for Cambridge scholars."

Under "archæology" an account is given of the winter's work of the American School at Athens; and Mr. A. S. Murray brings forward the view that the aegis of Athene was originally not a mere ornament for her breast, but the entire skin of the Gorgon thrown over her shoulders.

MEETINGS OF SOCIETIES.

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—(Annual General Meeting, Monday, May 27.)

PROF. A. MACALISTER, president, in the chair.—The following officers were elected for the next academical year: president, Prof. T. McK. Hughes; vice-president, Prof. A. Macalister; treasurer, W. M. Fawcett; secretary, the Rev. S. N. Lewis; new members of council, Prof. C. C. Babington, the Mayor of Cambridge, the Rev. E. G. Wood, F. J. H. Jenkinson.—The annual report mentioned the titles of several works, now in the press, and soon to be issued to members, recorded with deep regret the loss of Dr. Churchill Babington, Prof. W. Wright, and five other members; and stated that at the six general meetings during the past year eighteen communications had been made by thirteen several members. Visits had been made to Stamford and to Bartlow, and an excursion to Lincoln is being arranged.—The president delivered an address reviewing the society's work during the past year.—Prof. J. H. Middleton read the following notes on "A Blue-glazed Oenochœ of Ptolemaic Manufacture." Mr. S. S. Lewis's glazed oenochœ, which he kindly exhibits here this evening, is, with one exception, the finest and most interesting example of a very rare fabrique which has ever been discovered. Its special point of interest is, in the first place, the inscription which fixes its date within the years of Ptolemy IV.'s reign, 222–204 B.C.; and, secondly, its peculiar fabrique, combining Egyptian technique with purely Hellenic form. This beautiful vase, a wine-jug or oenochœ, measuring 11½ inches high, is said to have been discovered at Curium on the south coast of Cyprus, but—like many other objects found in Cyprian tombs—it is clearly of Egyptian workmanship. Like most of the pottery of Egypt, it is made of a very light coloured paste, formed of clay from the Nile delta, mixed with a large proportion of sand. The process of its manufacture seems to have been this. First of all the body of the vase was "thrown" on the wheel, and then the spout and ears were shaped by hand.

The flat fluted handle and the various emblemata were then formed separately in moulds, and applied while soft to the body of the vase and fixed by luting before firing. The emblemata consist of two Silenus or Satyr-masks, both formed in the same mould, and applied, one at the bottom, the other at the top, of the handle; and also wreaths of leaves looped round the vase. These festoons are now missing, but their form is visible on the surface of the vase. Next came the first firing, which fixed the handle and the emblemata in their places. After this the potter cut the inscription, incising it deeply with a sharp tool—a rather difficult process on the hard gritty clay. Then came the application of the blue glaze, which is simply a glass made of sand, alkali from the Natron desert, and lime, the colouring matter being an oxide or carbonate of copper. All these materials were finely ground with water to the consistency of cream; the vase was dipped in the mixture and then fired a second time at a high temperature. The use of this brilliant blue glaze is peculiar to Egypt. It is used very largely to cover the Osiris-mummy-figures which are found in large quantities in the Egyptian tombs of many different dynasties, and for countless other purposes. Glazes in the true sense of the word were not used on Greek pottery, and enamels very rarely. The chief distinction is that a glaze is a transparent vitreous coating, and an enamel an opaque one. The final process applied to this oenochœ (judging from the analogy of other specimens of this ware) was the application of gold leaf to the masks and festoons—i.e., to all the ornament in relief. As this gilding was applied after the final firing, it was very insecurely fixed, and has in this case wholly perished. The chief reason why the Greeks did not make glazed pottery is a practical one. The clay they used was what potters now call a "fat clay"; that is, it contained very little silica. This kind of clay is smooth and soft, very plastic on the wheel, and can be moulded with ease into almost any shape. Thus the Greek potters were able to mould vases of very beautiful forms of the thinnest possible substance. "Fat clays" have, however, one drawback: they cannot retain a vitreous coating or glaze. For this purpose a "lean clay" is needed, which contains a large proportion of silica. The siliceous glaze combines, during the firing, with the silica in the "lean clay," and thus a vitreous coating is produced which adheres closely to the pottery; whereas in the case of a "fat clay" the glaze would flake off as the vessel cools. "Lean clays" are not nearly so plastic and pleasant to work as the "fat clays," and thus Egyptian pottery is usually clumsy in body and far less graceful and varied in form than that of the Greeks. In some cases the mummy statuettes, covered with a brilliant blue glaze, are composed principally of sand, having only enough clay added to them to enable the potter to mould the figure into form. Some of these figures which have been fired at a very high temperature are vitrified not only on the surface, but all through the statuette, and thus have become solid masses of enamel rather than clay. Vases of this special fabrique appear to have been manufactured in Egypt only during the reigns of a few sovereigns of the Lagidae family. The most remarkable known example was found at Benghazi in the Cyrenaica, which, together with Phœnicia and Cyprus, for many years formed part of the Ptolemaic dominions. It is an oenochœ of similar shape and size to that now exhibited, and is inscribed in the same way, under the blue glaze, with the name of Queen Berenice, the sister and wife of Ptolemy III. (Euergetes) 246–222 B.C., ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΑΡΑΘΗC ΤΥΧΗC. As eponymous founder of the city of Berenice (the modern Benghazi), she is deified as "the Good Fortune" of the city. The emblemata on this vase consist of a standing figure of the deified queen, holding a cornucopia, and pouring from a patera a libation upon an altar, which is inscribed ΘΕΩΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΩΝ, i.e., "the Altar of the deified benefactors"—a title conferred on various members of the family of Lagidae. On the other side of the figure of the queen-goddess is a tall hippodrome meta, enriched with garlands of flowers—probably having reference to the sacred contests at the founding of a new city. The emblemata were wholly gilt, and a good deal of the gold still remains. Ptolemy Euergetes conquered the

Seleucidae and became master of the Cyrenaica in the year 239—238 B.C.; so this oenochœ is probably a few years later than that date. It passed into the collection of M. Beulé soon after its discovery, and is described by him in the *Journal des Savants*, 1862, p. 162. Less important examples of this fabrique in the Berlin and Louvre Museums are inscribed with the names of other members of the Lagidae Dynasty, namely Arsinoë, wife of Ptolemy II., 285—247 B.C., and Cleopatra, wife of Ptolemy VI., 181—146 B.C. Some smaller uninscribed specimens are to be seen in the British Museum—e.g., a cup from Naukratis and an alabastron from Tel-el-yahoudeh, in the Egyptian Delta; others were found in various tombs in Cyprus. Returning to Mr. Lewis's vase, the incised inscription is Βασιλεως Πτολεμαίου Φαίωνατορος—"the vase of the King Ptolemy Philopator," at least, so I think it must be interpreted. This form of vase-inscription is quite abnormal, as it is not usual to put the owner's name on Greek pottery. The nearest thing to it is a class of incised inscriptions, scratched on early pottery from the temeni of various temples at Naukratis, dating from the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. These vases were marked as belonging to certain temples by scratching on them the word "I am," followed by the name of the deity in the possessive case; e.g., ΑΓΓΑΛΑΝΟΣ ΕΜΙ. Legends on coins of the Ptolemies and other kings are similar in form to the inscription on Mr. Lewis's vase; e.g., a fine gold octodrachm of Ptolemy IV., the owner of the vase, struck in Cyprus, has the legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΦΑΙΩΝΑΤΟΡΟΣ, some word for "coin" being understood. From the palaeographical point of view, the vase inscription is peculiar from its semi-cursive, semi-lapidary form. The round sigma (c for ζ) is used, while on Ptolemaic coins the older form always occurs. The cursive ω is used for Ω, and the rounded ε with the central stroke separated from the curve. The alpha, in two instances, is peculiar, being open at the top; the other characters are of the usual lapidary type; so the whole inscription comes midway between the papyrus and other pen-written types and those on coins and marbles of the Ptolemaic period. In Crete the c for ζ occurs very early, e.g., on a coin of Gortyna of the seventh or sixth century B.C.; but in other places it is not used, except in cursive writing, till considerably later than the date of this vase.—Mr. M. B. James began his paper on "Illustrated MS. Psalters and Gospels," with a supplementary note on two more copies of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*. These MSS. are both in the Cottonian Collection: the first (Cleopatra, c. viii.) is of the eleventh century, and corresponds exactly (save for a gap) with the Corpus MS., No. 23; the second (Titus, c. xvi.) is of the twelfth century and once belonged to St. Albans. It has fewer pictures, and those different in some cases from the older books. Its dependence on earlier traditions is seen chiefly in the titles of the illustrations. The section on illustrated MS. Psalters began with a summary of the results arrived at by Dr. A. Springer in his essay "Die Psalter-illustrationem im frühen Mittelalter." There are two great independent families of Psalters—Eastern and Western. The Eastern books are best represented by the ninth-century Chludoff Psalter at Moscow. The artist there illustrates the Psalms by picturing (usually on the margin) the New-Testament event which was thought to be foreshadowed by the text. The Eastern tendency may be called theological. The Western Psalters, represented by the (eighth or ninth century) Utrecht Psalter and the two copies of it (Harl. 603, and the Eadwine Psalter at Trinity), show on the other hand the literal style of illustration. Every detail in the text of the Psalm is introduced into the picture which heads it. Only one picture in early Psalters is a direct product of a classical school. This is the drawing of David surrounded by his choir of minstrels, and playing on his harp, which immediately precedes the text in very many MSS. Of later mediaeval Psalters the reader distinguished two main classes: those with, and those without, a series of paintings preceding the text. A certain development in the selection of subjects is visible in these preliminary pictures, which do not occur much before 1100. The succession seems to have been this: (i.) Events in David's life were represented. (ii.) The same,

together with New Testament events, illustrated by David's experiences or prophesied in the Psalms. (iii.) Instead of the Davidic cycle, a series of Old Testament subjects (most commonly from the creation to the judgment of Solomon); the New Testament pictures keep their place. (iv.) Instead of the Old Testament subjects, single figures or stories of patron saints, following the New Testament subjects. Lastly, the Psalter is superseded by the Horae, but it is noticeable that early Horae are illustrated with Bible pictures in many cases. Instances illustrating the development were drawn from the Library at Corpus (No. 53, a Peterborough Book), at St. John's (k. 26, containing forty-six paintings), at Trinity College (three copies), and at the Fitzwilliam Museum. The section on Gospels was not intended to be comprehensive; the reader only dealt quite shortly with the famous Gregorian Gospels at Corpus, the only MS. in Cambridge which is a direct product of Romano-Christian art. The second finest Cambridge MS. of the Gospels, which contains scenes from our Lord's life, is a MS. from Bury St. Edmund's at Pembroke. It probably belongs to the twelfth century. In conclusion, it was remarked how rare a phenomenon in later mediaeval art is any complete series of illustrations of the ministry of our Lord. This seemed a natural outcome of the popular theology of the day.

FINE ART.

The Civilisation of Sweden in Heathen Times.
By Oscar Montelius. Translated by F. H. Woods. (Macmillan.)

THE work of Prof. Montelius, which Mr. Woods has translated into English, is a rapid but lucid and interesting sketch of the prehistoric archaeology of Sweden. The translation is made from the second and latest edition (1878) of the Swedish original, but it incorporates the additions contained in the German edition of 1885, and also includes some new matter furnished by the author, so that the information may be said to have been brought down to the date of last year. Notwithstanding these enlargements, it is possible that many English students, to whom Swedish archaeology is interesting chiefly on account of the light which it sheds on the antiquities of their own country, may find the work somewhat meagre. The volume contains only about 200 pages of large type, and of this limited space a considerable portion is occupied with matter which is already familiar to English readers from translations of the works of Nilsson and Worsaae. The abundance of excellent illustrations, indeed, to a great extent compensates for the brevity of the text, but there are many points on which more detailed explanations would have been welcome. In particular, it is rather disappointing to find that the author's views as to the absolute chronology of the three great culture-periods—which differ very widely from the theories maintained by earlier authorities—are stated without the slightest indications of the nature of the grounds on which they are based. The reader is simply told that "everything tends to show" that the Bronze Age began in Sweden not later than 1500 B.C., and that the result of recent investigation has been to throw back the date of the commencement of the Iron Age as far as 500 B.C. No one will deny that the opinion of Prof. Montelius on such questions is of great weight, but it is not wholly satisfactory that English students should be asked to accept these important conclusions solely on his authority. It is of course to be borne in mind that these dates

are given only as rough approximations, a half-millennium being the smallest measure of time with which prehistoric archaeology can at present reasonably attempt to deal. Prof. Montelius agrees with Worsaae in believing the Bronze Age to have lasted about a thousand years, but places its termination about 500 years earlier. English archaeologists will probably be disposed to accept the latter conclusion; but it is hard to imagine what kind of evidence can be accessible which can justify any decided opinion respecting the date when the Bronze Age began.

The chapter on the Stone Age occupies less than forty pages. The extraordinary perfection of finish characteristic of the late stone weapons of Sweden must be regarded as indicating a higher stage of culture than has been proved to have existed among the neolithic peoples of the rest of Europe. From the character of the skulls found in the cromlechs and gallery-graves, Prof. Montelius is inclined to conclude that the people who constructed these sepulchres were in the main Teutonic, though a certain proportion of the skulls are of the Lapp type. At the same time, the author accepts the view propounded by Nilsson, that the gallery-graves imitate in their form the dwellings of the living, and points out that on this supposition the habitations of the stone-age people of Sweden must have resembled those of the modern Lapps. The "cup-shaped" hollows in the roof-stones of graves, Prof. Montelius thinks, were "certainly used for offerings either for or to the dead." In corroboration of this opinion, he states that in Sweden these cups—"elf-mills" as they are popularly called—are still regarded as holy, and offerings are secretly made in them. This is certainly an interesting fact; but is it not possible that the popular veneration for the "elf-mills," and the practice of making offerings in them, may be due merely to that belief in their supernatural origin which is implied in their name, and not to any tradition connected with their primary use? In England there are many instances in which similar "cup-shaped" hollows occur on the vertical surfaces of stones.

It seems to be established that in Great Britain the use of bronze was introduced by an invading people of different race from the makers of the neolithic weapons. The prevailing opinion has been that this was the case also in Scandinavia. Prof. Montelius, however, considers that in Sweden the transition from the Stone Age to the Bronze Age was gradual, and was merely the result of increased communication with foreign nations. The bronze weapons and ornaments appear, for the most part, to have been made in the country; but the material must have been imported, as there is no tin in Scandinavia, and there is no evidence that the copper mines were worked at so early a period. A fact which can hardly be without importance, though its precise significance may be easy to determine, is that in Scandinavia the introduction of the practice of cremation, which occurred in the middle of the Bronze Age, was accompanied by a marked change in the style of the weapons and ornaments, the work of the latter period being, on the whole, inferior in artistic excellence to that of the earlier period. It would be interesting to know whether there is anything analogous to this in the history

of the Bronze Age in Great Britain. That both cremation and simple interment were practised by the Bronze Age people in England is well known; but, whether the two usages existed simultaneously or successively is a question which seems not to have been conclusively answered.

Among the most interesting remains of the Bronze Age in Scandinavia are the rock-carvings, which seem to have formed a regular picture-writing. Several specimens of these carvings are figured in the present volume. The epoch to which they belong is shown, among other evidence, by the remarkable resemblance of the swords represented in some of them to those which have been actually found in the barrows. Taken altogether, the remains of this period afford much fuller material than might have been expected for a connected picture of the habits and condition of the people. The character of their costume has been remarkably illustrated by discoveries made within the last twenty years (principally in Denmark), which include a man's and a woman's complete attire, both in perfect preservation. These have already been figured in Mr. Simpson's translation of Worsaae's *Nordens Forhistorie*; Prof. Montelius gives an engraving of the woman's dress, which, he remarks, is very similar to that worn at the present day by peasant women in some parts of Sweden. The man's costume, on the other hand, differs widely from any that is known to have been worn in the country at any later period. One of the most curious discoveries mentioned by Prof. Montelius is that made in a barrow at Hvidegaarden, near Copenhagen, where, beside a heap of human bones, wrapped in a woollen mantle, there was found a leathern case containing

"a piece of an amber bead, a small Mediterranean shell, a die made of deal, the tail end of a snake, a bird's claw, the lower jaw of a young squirrel, some small stones, a small pair of tweezers, two bronze knives, and a spear-head of flint."

The author very plausibly suggests that the dead man was "either a doctor or a magician, or perhaps both."

In the chapter on the earlier Iron Age Prof. Montelius gives an illustration representing a Northern warrior of about A.D. 300. Every detail of costume and equipment in this picture may, he says, be relied upon as absolutely accurate, being copied from articles actually found in two peat-bogs in Jutland. From this period onwards Prof. Montelius is able to find much interesting illustrative matter in the sagas and the older Scandinavian poetry. With reference to the origin of the runes, he accepts the theory of Wimmer, that they were a modification of the Latin alphabet formed by some South Teutonic tribes; but he assigns their adoption to about the date of the Christian era—some two centuries earlier than the time given by Wimmer in the last edition of his work.

Mr. Woods's translation is smooth and readable, though now and then there is a trace of foreign idiom; for instance, it is not good English to speak of an object being "described" in an engraving. Sometimes, also, the grammar is rather careless, as in the following sentence:

"But if the clothes found in Treenhöi ought to be regarded as an ordinary example of the

men's dress of that time, it must have been very different from what is not merely now worn, but from that worn during the latter part of heathen times."

In the preface Mr. Woods explains that he has discarded the accepted term "gallery-graves" for "passage-graves," because "the word gallery suggests to his mind something of the nature of a gallery in a theatre or a church." But the meaning of "gallery" as a mining term is surely familiar enough to ordinary readers, and there does not seem to be any adequate reason for displacing a designation which has come into general use among archaeologists.

HENRY BRADLEY.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DUCCIO OF SIENA.

London: June 8, 1889.

My attention has been called to a letter in the *ACADEMY* of May 25, in which I am challenged to substantiate a statement made in Mr. Stillman's article on Duccio in the *Century*.

I never saw either the previous letter, or Mr. Stillman's reply. I answer somewhat unwillingly to avoid misconception.

The picture by Duccio referred to was taken down for me some years since in order that it might be photographed. The picture being entirely under the control of the Opera of the cathedral, only the rector's permission was necessary, the Minister of Public Instruction having nothing whatever to do with it. Hanging, as the picture did, in the cathedral far above the eye in a dim light, and never having been removed for nearly fifty years, its beauty astonished all who were present, and the rector expressed his sorrow at having to replace it. Some years later, a special gallery having been built for the numerous works of art hitherto shown in the sacristy (with some inconvenience to the officiating clergy), the picture was finally removed there. This gallery, which is a fine, lofty, and well-lighted room, your correspondent designates a "lumber room"; but his religious scruples might be satisfied by noting that it is built within the area of the cathedral itself, the walls being part of the gigantic edifice planned before the plague, and afterwards abandoned.

C. FAIRFAX MURRAY.

NOTES ON ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY.

THE second exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Society will be held in the New Gallery from October 7 to December 7. It will consist of contemporary work in design and handicraft, including all kinds of decorative art. Forms of application may be obtained from the secretary, Mr. Ernest Radford, 45 Great Marlborough Street, W.

THE Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts propose to hold during the coming autumn an exhibition of works in black and white, and also of pastels. The Institute has already held three exhibitions of black and white—in 1880, 1881, and 1882; but this will be the first exhibition of pastels in Scotland. The last day for the delivery of works intended for exhibition is October 4.

THE annual meeting of the Hellenic Society will be held at 22 Albemarle Street on Monday, June 24, at 5 p.m., Prof. Jebb, vice-president, in the chair.

ON Monday next, June 17, and on the two following days, Messrs. Sotheby will sell the large collection of coins formed by Mr. John

G. Hall. The collection includes examples of many periods and countries; but perhaps its chief features are the series of Byzantine gold pieces and of German thalers. There are also a few of the so-called "Indo-Scythic" coins.

MR. PETRIE's collection of Greek portraits from the Fayum—now the property of M. Théodore Graf—has lately been on exhibition in Paris, where they attracted the attention of the Académie des Inscriptions. M. Maspero pointed out that they represent a change in funeral customs, which lasted for about a century and a half, from the beginning of the Christian era; and that they are found in Thebes as well as the Fayum. M. Ravaisson added that the realistic style of art was characteristic of a nation in its decadence.

AMONG the most recent archaeological discoveries at Rome is that of two stone sarcophagi, dug up in the Prati di Castello about eight metres below the surface. Both of them bear inscriptions showing that they were the tombs of two members of the Gens Crepereia. In one of them was found the skeleton of a girl, together with a number of objects in excellent preservation, among them a wooden doll with jointed arms and legs.

THE STAGE.

IBSEN IN LONDON.

ONE is glad to have had an opportunity of seeing a play of Ibsen's—a representative piece—upon the stage in London, even though the conclusion one draws after having seen it is, that it is not particularly likely one will see it again. At all events, the stage itself—and not the closet—is the best place on which to get the question answered in regard to Ibsen. Is he a missionary, or is he an artist, or is he perchance both? So far as "The Doll's House" is concerned, we have had our answer. Mr. William Archer—who, for Mr. Walter Scott's little volume, had furnished a translation of "The Pillars of Society," which did not read smoothly—has made what appears to me (who know nothing of the original) a much better translation of "The Doll's House." It can hardly be, indeed, but that it is quite a good one. And Mr. Charles Charrington, Mr. Royce Carleton, Mr. Waring, and best of all, as few will doubt, Miss Achurch, have given us a performance which allowed us, as I think, to judge the play. The result of the judgment is that Henrik Ibsen must be said to be an interesting, but not a very great, artist: that he must be confessed to be a missionary into the bargain—a missionary, perhaps, before all—yet one whose mission is to some extent unnecessary, and to some extent injurious.

"The Doll's House" is a drama written partly to show that in a life of civilisation a woman must not be considered as man's creature alone—a ministrant or a toy. I should have thought, I confess, that, in 1889, intelligent England, and yet more assuredly intelligent America, had got beyond the need of any such teaching. To say this is not to invalidate the worth of Ibsen in Scandinavia or Germany, where conversions have yet to be made to views which France and England have accepted, off and on, for much more than a hundred years, and which America has accepted through all but the whole of her short and brilliant history. London is not the place in which the most pressing of our needs is to learn Henrik Ibsen's sapient lesson. With